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INTRODUCTION TO MONGOLIAN  
COMPARATIVE STUDIES

BY  
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## Preface

Although the study of Mongolian languages has made good progress in past decades and the achievements of comparative Mongolian linguistics are considerable, the task of writing a detailed comparative grammar of the Mongolian languages still rests with the future. What can be done at the present time is only a general outline of such a grammar. Therefore, I have chosen the title »Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies».

I started my work long ago and it took many years before the necessary observations were made and new phonetic laws and correspondences in morphology were established. The final draft of this book was completed under the program of the Inner Asia Project of the Far Eastern and Russian Institute, University of Washington, in 1952.

Mongolian comparative studies were started by G. J. RAMSTEDT half a century ago. It is a great privilege for me to have this book published in the same series in which his classic works appeared. I take great pleasure in expressing my profound gratitude to the Société Finno-Ougrienne for publishing my work.

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University of Washington

## Preface to the Second Impression

The present book appeared thirty-two years ago and reflects the *status rerum* in Mongolian studies at the time of writing this book. In the years following the publication of the first impression of the book many important works on Mongolian languages, their history and their mutual relations have been published, and some opinions of the author have changed, so that the book needs correction and a new interpretation of some of the linguistic data collected by the author. A serious defect of the book is the lack of a detailed discussion of the primary long vowels and their influence on some consonants in intervocalic position. Otherwise, the book is still useable.

I wish to add my sincere thanks to the Finno-Ugrian Society for publishing this new impression and making my book available to readers again.

Seattle, 15 June 1987

*Nicholas Poppe*

## Introduction

### Brief History of Mongolian Comparative Studies

1. Mongolian comparative studies based on modern methods started half a century ago, when the Finnish scholar, G. J. RAMSTEDT (1873—1950), published his first works on Khalkha-Mongolian, simultaneously laying the foundation for descriptive and comparative Mongolian linguistics.<sup>1</sup> His followers, who at the beginning included only Russians, took his publications as a model for their own works. As a consequence most of the works on Mongolian languages and dialects represent combinations of descriptive phonologies and grammars with comparative phonologies of the Mongolian languages, in which the phenomena of the language concerned are discussed comparatively with the data of Written Mongolian.

As the Khalkha-Mongolian language has been the first to be mentioned in this introduction, let us continue the discussion of what has been achieved in the field of descriptive and comparative studies of this language.

Of all the descriptive works and collections of materials the collection of Khalkha texts of Ts. Ž. ŽAMTSARANO and A. D. RUDNEV<sup>2</sup> and also that of the author of these lines<sup>3</sup> should be mentioned here.

<sup>1</sup> Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart phonetisch verglichen, *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XXI*, 2, Helsingfors, 1902. The Russian translation is: Г. И. Р а м с т е д т, Сравнительная фонетика монгольского письменного языка и халхаско-ургинского говора, С.-Петербургъ, 1908; G. J. RAMSTEDT, Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-Mongolischen, *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne XLIX*, Helsingfors, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Образцы монгольской народной литературы, выпуск 1, Халхаское наречие (тексты в транскрипции), редактировали: Ц. Жамцарано и А. Д. Руднев, С.-Петербургъ, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> Н. Н. Поппе, Произведения народной словесности халха-монголов,

A study of the structure of Khalkha-Mongolian<sup>1</sup> and a complete descriptive grammar of this language have also been published by me.<sup>2</sup> There is also a new grammar of Khalkha-Mongolian by TODAYEVA.<sup>3</sup> A brief outline of Khalkha grammar by G. D. SANŽEYEV is appended to a small but good Khalkha-Russian dictionary by A. R. RINCINE.<sup>4</sup>

The most voluminous work in the field of comparative studies of Khalkha is the monumental comparative phonology by B. YA. VLADIMIRTSOV.<sup>5</sup> This is a valuable work in which sometimes in addition to Khalkha-Mongolian other Mongolian languages are discussed in so far as they were explored or otherwise known at the time when the comparative phonology was being written. If at that time more Mongolian languages had been known, certain chapters of VLADIMIRTSOV's work could be included at the present time in a complete comparative phonology of Mongolian languages with no changes, e. g., certain sections dealing with vocalism. The consonantism was treated by VLADIMIRTSOV too briefly and sometimes even

Северо-халхаское наречие, Ленинград, 1932. Cf. N. POPPE, Mongolische Volksdichtung, Lieder, Sprüche, Sagen und Märchen, Khalkha-Mongolische Texte und Übersetzung mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen, Wiesbaden, 1955.

<sup>1</sup> Н. Н. Поппе, Стой халха-монгольского языка, Ленинград, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> N. POPPE, Khalkha-Mongolische Grammatik mit Bibliographie, Sprachproben und Glossar, Wiesbaden, 1951.

<sup>3</sup> Б. Х. Тодаева, Грамматика современного монгольского языка, Фонетика и морфология, Москва, 1951.

<sup>4</sup> Краткий монгольско-русский словарь, Составил А. Р. Ринчинэ, под редакцией проф. Г. Д. Санжеева, с приложением краткого грамматического очерка монгольского языка, составленного Г. Д. Санжеевым, ОГИЗ, Москва, 1947.

<sup>5</sup> Б. Я. Владимицов, Сравнительная грамматика монгольского письменного языка и халхаского наречия, Введение и фонетика, Ленинград, 1929. Not long ago a comparative grammar of the Mongolian languages was published by SANŽEYEV, cf. Г. Д. Санжеев, Сравнительная грамматика монгольских языков, том 1, Москва, 1953. It adds very little to VLADIMIRTSOV's work. The introductory chapter of SANŽEYEV's book appeared also separately in the Ученые Записки Института Востоковедения, том IV, Москва, 1952, pages 30—125.

superficially, but various sections referring to vocalism are still unsurpassed.

2. Another Mongolian language thoroughly explored is Buriat. After the outstanding grammar of this language by CASTRÉN<sup>1</sup> many years elapsed before new works on the Buriat language were published. In the first place a valuable work by A. D. RUDNEV on the Khori-Buriat dialect<sup>2</sup> should be mentioned, which was followed by my works and those by SANŽEYEV, dealing with the dialects of the Alar-Buriats,<sup>3</sup> Nižneudinsk-Buriats,<sup>4</sup> Aga-Buriats,<sup>5</sup> and Bargu-Buriats.<sup>6</sup> Besides these works, which are not only descriptions of dialects but, to a great extent, also comparative studies, there are complete grammars of the Buriat language, much more recent than that by CASTRÉN. The most complete grammar of almost all Buriat dialects is that published by the present author.<sup>7</sup> A descriptive grammar of the new literary language of the Buriats, based on the Khori dialect, is that by SANŽEYEV.<sup>8</sup> The latter published also a Buriat syntax which is not good, however.<sup>9</sup> A very good Buriat dictionary was published by ČEREMISOV.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> M. A. CASTRÉN, Versuch einer burjätischen Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichnis, S. Petersburg, 1857.

<sup>2</sup> А. Д. Рудневъ, Хори-бурятскій говоръ, Опытъ изслѣдованія, тексты, переводъ и примѣчанія, вып. I—III, С.-Петербургъ, 1913—1914.

<sup>3</sup> Н. Н. Поппе, Аларский говор, Ч. I, Ленинград, 1930; Ч. II, Ленинград, 1931.

<sup>4</sup> Г. Д. Санжеев, Фонетические особенности говора нижнеудинских бурят, Материалы Монгольской Комиссии 8, Ленинград, 1930.

<sup>5</sup> Н. Н. Поппе, Заметки о говоре агинских бурят, Труды Монг. Ком. 8, Ленинград, 1932.

<sup>6</sup> N. POPPE, Skizze der Phonetik des Bargu-Burjatischen, *Asia Major*, Vol. VII, Leipzig, 1932, pp. 307—378.

<sup>7</sup> Н. Н. Поппе, Грамматика бурят-монгольского языка, Москва-Ленинград, 1938.

<sup>8</sup> Г. Д. Санжеев, Грамматика бурят-монгольского языка, Москва-Ленинград, 1941.

<sup>9</sup> Г. Д. Санжеев, Синтаксис бурят-монгольского языка, Улан-Удэ, 1940.

<sup>10</sup> Бурят-монгольско-русский словарь, составил К. М. Черемисов

Collections of Buriat texts are numerous. In the first place a large collection of Ekhirit texts published by ŽAMTSARANO should be mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Alar-Buriat songs were published by SANŽEYEV<sup>2</sup> and Tsongol texts by the author of these lines.<sup>3</sup> A collection of various specimens of various dialects was also published, containing songs and other texts in the dialects of the Buriats of Aga, Barguzin, Alar, and of the tribes Tsongol and Ekhirit.<sup>4</sup> There are also general surveys and classifications of the Buriat dialects.<sup>5</sup>

3. Of the languages of Inner Mongolia the Urdus (or Ordos) language is well explored by the Reverend ANTOINE MOSTAERT. There is a very fine phonetic description of this important language,<sup>6</sup> a valuable and large collection of texts, containing also a grammatical outline in the introduction,<sup>7</sup> with translations,<sup>8</sup> and an excellent dictionary in two volumes with an index as a separate (i. e., the third) volume, in which each Urdus word is compared with its Written Mongolian equivalent.<sup>9</sup>

под редакцией Ц. Б. Цыдендамбаева, около 25,000 слов, с приложением краткого грамматического справочника по бурят-монгольскому языку, Гос. издат. иностр. и национ. словарей, Москва, 1951.

<sup>1</sup> Ц. Жамцарано, Произведения народной словесности бурятъ, Эпическая произведенія эхрит-булгатовъ, т. I, Петроградъ, 1918; т. II, Ленинград, 1930—1932.

<sup>2</sup> Песнопения аларских бурят, Записки Коллегии Востоковедов III, стр. 459—552.

<sup>3</sup> Н. Н. Поппе, Язык и колхозная поэзия бурят-монголов Селенгинского аймака, Ленинград, 1934.

<sup>4</sup> Н. Н. Поппе, Бурят-монгольский фольклорный и диалектологический сборник, Москва-Ленинград, 1936.

<sup>5</sup> Н. Н. Поппе, Бурят-монгольское языкознание, Ленинград, 1933, (v. Chapter I); N. POPPE, Die burjäischen Mundarten, *Mém. de la Société Finno-Ougrienne LXVII*.

<sup>6</sup> A. MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., Le dialecte des Mongols Urdus (Sud), *Anthropos XXI* (1926), pp. 851—869; *Anthropos XXII* (1927), pp. 160—186.

<sup>7</sup> ANTOINE MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., Textes oraux ordos, Peip'ing, 1937. The grammar is on pp. XXI—LXVIII.

<sup>8</sup> ANTOINE MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., Folklore ordos (Traduction des Textes oraux ordos), Peip'ing, 1947.

<sup>9</sup> ANTOINE MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., Dictionnaire ordos, tome I—III, Peking, 1941—1944.

The other languages or rather dialects spoken in Inner Mongolia are less explored. The only more or less large work is RUDNEV's book<sup>1</sup> containing material on the dialects of the regions Durbut Beise, Aru Khorchin, Gorlos, Jostu, Tumut, Ujumchin, and also Urdus (Ordos), spoken in the territory of the Jerim, Ju-Uda, and Shilingol Leagues. The material collected on each of these dialects is very limited and, therefore, all of these dialects, except Urdus, should be regarded as insufficiently explored.

The author of this book had in his possession materials on the Urat dialect spoken in the territory of the Ulan Chab League, but unfortunately they were lost. As far as I still remember, that dialect was very close to Khalkha, differing from the latter in that it always has *tš* and *dž* while Khalkha has them only before the vowel \**i*.

Another dialect little explored is also Kharchin, about which there are two articles by NOMURA<sup>2</sup> and rather limited materials collected by me.

4. Relatively well explored are the dialects of the Oirats or the Western Mongols. First of all, there is a large literature on the Kalmuck language. An excellent dictionary of the Kalmuck dialects was published by RAMSTEDT.<sup>3</sup> The introduction contains a brief grammatical outline and experimental phonetic data, the only material of this kind in the Mongolian field as yet published. The newest Russian-Kalmuck dictionary is that by BASANGOV.<sup>4</sup> The best grammar of the Kalmuck language is that by KOTWICZ.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> А. Д. Рудневъ, Материалы по говорамъ Восточной Монголіи, (съ рисунками и нотами в текстѣ), С.-Петербургъ, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> MASAYOSHI NOMURA, Remarks on the Diphthong [wa] in the Kharachin Dialect of the Mongol Language, *Journal of the Linguistic Society of Japan* 16 (1950), pp. 126—142; MASAYOSHI NOMURA, Supplementary Notes and Additions to Remarks on the Diphthong [wa] in the Kharachin Dialect of the Mongol Language, *ibid.*, No. 17—18 (1951), pp. 149—156; MASAYOSHI NOMURA, Mōkogo Karachin uki ōfu hogen no tan boin («On Short Vowels in the Wan-fu Dialect of the Kharachin Right Banner»), *Reprint from Annual Reports of the Institute of Ethnology*, vol. III (1940—1941), pp. 318—341.

<sup>3</sup> G. J. RAMSTEDT, Kalmückisches Wörterbuch, Helsinki, 1935.

<sup>4</sup> Б. Б. Басановъ, Русско-калмыцкий словарь. ОГИЗ, Москва, 1940.

<sup>5</sup> Вл. Л. Котвичъ. Опыт грамматики калмыцкого разговорного

A valuable collection of specimens of the Kalmuck language was published by RAMSTEDT.<sup>1</sup> Texts in the Oirat dialects of North-West Mongolia were published by VLADIMIRTSOV.<sup>2</sup>

5. Besides these Mongolian languages, more or less close to one another, there are also isolated languages, completely unintelligible to the Mongols living outside the areas concerned.

In the first place the language of the Mogols of Afghanistan is to be mentioned. Some data on that language were collected by RAMSTEDT.<sup>3</sup>

Isolated groups of Mongols live also in the province of Kansu, in China. One of such tribes is the Shera-Yögurs near K'anglung ssü and on the river Kluadjeck Gol. Some material on their language was published by MANNERHEIM.<sup>4</sup>

A valuable and interesting survey of the dialects of the Mongols in Kansu was published by the Reverend ANTOINE MOSTAERT whose article contains also a map of West Kansu with indications of all places populated by Monguors, Aragwa, Santa, and T'uussu.<sup>5</sup> The

языка, Петроградъ, 1915; Second edition: Ржевнице у Праги, 1929; There is also an unsatisfactory grammar by Г. Д. Санижеев, Грамматика калмыцкого языка, Москва-Ленинград, 1940.

<sup>1</sup> G. J. RAMSTEDT, Kalmückische Sprachproben, Kalmückische Märchen, *JSFOu XXVII, 1-2* (1909-1919).

<sup>2</sup> Б. Я. Владими́ров, Образцы монгольской народной словесности, (Северо-западная Монголия), Ленинград, 1926. A translation of the epic sagas contained in this book is in: Б. Я. Владими́ров, Монголо-ойратский героический эпос, Петербург, 1923.

<sup>3</sup> G. J. RAMSTEDT, Mogholica, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Moghol-Sprache in Afghanistan, *JSFOu XXIII:4* (1906). A very fine article on the Mogols and their language is »Notes on Mongolian Groups in Afghanistan» by IWAMURA Shinobu and H. F. SCHURMANN, Kyoto University, Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo, Kyoto University, Kyoto, 1954, pages 480-515.

<sup>4</sup> C. G. E. MANNERHEIM, A Visit to the Sarö and Shera Yögurs, *JSFOu XXVII:2* (1911).

<sup>5</sup> ANTOINE MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., The Mongols of Kansu and Their Language, *Bulletin No. 8 (1931) of the Catholic University of Peking*, pp. 75-89.

language of the Monguors has been thoroughly explored by the Reverend MOSTAERT and the late A. DE SMEDT.<sup>1</sup>

In Manchuria, near the city of Hailar and in the valley of the Nonni, Daurs (Dagurs) live whose language is explored more or less sufficiently.<sup>2</sup>

6. Such is the present stage of the exploration of the living Mongolian languages and their relation to the Written Mongolian. The latter is well explored. There are satisfactory dictionaries and grammars of Written Mongolian. The literature on Written Mongolian is so large that we shall not dwell here on the enumeration of what has been achieved in this field.<sup>3</sup>

Good results have been achieved in the exploration of Middle Mongolian, i.e. the language of the XIII—XV century.

In the first place the *Secret History* should be mentioned on which at the present time a large literature exists.

The restored text of this important source was first published by HAENISCH.<sup>4</sup> He also made a translation,<sup>5</sup> compiled a dictionary of

<sup>1</sup> A. DE SMEDT, C.I.C.M. et A. MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M., Le dialecte mongouor parlé par les Mongols du Kansu occidental. Ie partie, Phonétique, *Anthropos XXIV—XXV* (1929—1930), *correct. XXVI* (1931); IIe partie: Grammaire, Peking, 1945; IIIe partie: Dictionnaire mongouor-français, Pei-p'ing, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> А. О. И в а н о в с к и й, Mandjurica I, Образцы солонского и дахурского языковъ, Санктпетербургъ, 1894; Н. Н. П о п п е, Дагурское наречие, Ленинград, 1930; N. POPPE, Über die Sprache der Daguren, *Asia Major X* (1935), pp. 1—32, 183—220.

<sup>3</sup> A more or less complete bibliography is found in: N. POPPE, Stand und Aufgaben der Mongolistik, *ZDMG 100* (1950), pp. 53 ss. The latest grammar is N. POPPE, Grammar of Written Mongolian, *Porta Linguarum Orientalium, Neue Serie*, vol. I, Wiesbaden, 1954.

<sup>4</sup> ERICH HAENISCH, Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi), Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, Aus der chinesischen Transkription (Ausgabe Ye Têh-hui) im mongolischen Wortlaut wiederhergestellt, Leipzig, 1937.

<sup>5</sup> ERICH HAENISCH, Die Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, Aus einer mongolischen Niederschrift des Jahres 1240 von der Insel Kode'e im Keluren-Fluss, Erstmalig übersetzt und erläutert, Leipzig, 1948.

the words occurring in the *Secret History*,<sup>1</sup> and published an article on the grammatical features of that language.<sup>2</sup>

Another restoration of the Mongolian text was undertaken by PELLIOU who has published a French translation of a great portion of this document.<sup>3</sup>

Very valuable explanations and corrections of words and locutions misunderstood by other explorers have been published by the Reverend MOSTAERT.<sup>4</sup>

An important Middle Mongolian text in Chinese transcription is the so-called *Hua-yi yi-yu*.<sup>5</sup>

The *hPags-pa* inscriptions are no less important for the study of Middle Mongolian.<sup>6</sup>

A great deal of valuable material on the colloquial Mongolian language of the XIII—XIV century was collected by Moslem scholars of that time.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ERICH HAENISCH, Wörterbuch zu Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an (Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi), Geheime Geschichte der Mongolen, Leipzig, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> ERICH HAENISCH, Grammatische Besonderheiten in der Sprache des Manghol un Niuca Tobca'an, *Studia Orientalia XIV: 3* (1950).

<sup>3</sup> PAUL PELLIOU, Histoire Secrète des Mongols, Restitution du texte mongol et traduction française des chapitres I à VI, Paris, 1949.

<sup>4</sup> ANTOINE MOSTAERT, Sur quelques passages de l'Histoire Secrète des Mongols, Harvard-Yenching Institute, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953.

<sup>5</sup> Marian Lewicki, La langue mongole des transcriptions chinoises du XIVe siècle, Le Houa-yi yi-yu de 1389, *Travaux de la Société des Sciences et des Lettres de Wrocław*, Sér. A, Nr. 29, Wrocław, 1949; ERICH HAENISCH, Sino-mongolische Dokumente vom Ende des 14. Jahrhunderts, *Abh. der Deutschen Akademie d. Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Sprache, Literatur u. Kunst, Jahrgang 1950, Nr. 4*, Berlin, 1952.

<sup>6</sup> Н. И. Поппе, Квадратная письменность, История монгольской письменности, Т. 1, Москва-Ленинград, 1941; N. POPPE, Die Sprache der mongolischen Quadratschrift und das Yüan-ch'ao pi-shi, *Asia Major, Neue Folge, vol. I* (Jahrgang 1944), p. 97 ff.

<sup>7</sup> N. POPPE, Das mongolische Sprachmaterial einer Leidener Handschrift, *Bull. de l'Académie des Sciences de l'URSS* 1927, p. 1009—1040, 1251—1274; 1928, pp. 55—80; Н. И. Поппе, Монгольский словарь Мукааддимат ал-

These and numerous other works on Mongolian languages presently spoken and those of the past enable us to get a distinct impression of the mutual relations of the Mongolian languages and the ways of their development.<sup>1</sup>

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Адаб, Часть I—II, Москва-Ленинград, 1938; часть III, Москва-Ленинград, 1939.

<sup>1</sup> In this book a simplified and uniform transcription is used, *vide* N. POPPE, Vorschläge zu einer einheitlichen mongolistischen Transkription, *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher XXV: 1—2* (1953), pp. 119—132.

The abbreviations used in this book are as follows:

AgaB — Aga dialect of Buriat after POPPE (page 7, note 5) and СНЕРЕМИСОВ (p. 7, n. 10).

Al.B — Alar dialect of Buriat, see p. 7, n. 3.

AM — Ancient Mongolian.

BB — Bargu Buriat dialect, see p. 7, n. 6.

Bur. — Buriat language after СНЕРЕМИСОВ, see p. 7, n. 10.

Ch. — Chakhar after the material collected by the author.

CM — Common Mongolian.

Dag. — Dagur, see p. 11, n. 2.

Dörb. — the Dörbet dialect of Kalmuck.

Ekh.B — the Ekhirit dialect of Buriat.

H — Hua-yi yi-yü after HAENISCH (p. 12, n. 5) and LEWICKI (*ibid.*).

IM — Ibn Muhammā's glossary, appendix to POPPE, Muqaddimat al-Adab (see p. 12, n. 7).

Kalm. — Kalmuck after RAMSTEDT, see p. 9, n. 3.

Kalm.Buz. — Buzāwa dialect of Kalmuck, observations of the author.

Kalm.D — Dörbet dialect of Kalmuck.

Kalm.T — Torgut dialect of Kalmuck.

Kh. — Khalkha after POPPE (p. 6, n. 2) and RINCHINE (p. 6, n. 4).

Khar. — Kharchin after NOMURA (p. 9, n. 2) and according to own observations.

Kh.B — Khori dialect of the Buriat language after RUDNEV (p. 7, n. 2) and СНЕРЕМИСОВ (p. 7, n. 10).

Ma. — Manchu.

MMo. — Middle Mongolian.

Mo. — Written Mongolian.

Mog. — Mogol after RAMSTEDT, see p. 10, n. 3.

Mong. — Monguor, see p. 11, n. 1.

Mu. — Muqaddimat al-Adab, see p. 12, n. 7.

### Classification of the Mongolian Languages

7. One of the most difficult problems of linguistics is the definition of what is a language and what is a dialect. Sometimes it is difficult to define whether the language concerned is really an independent language or just a dialect of another language. Frequently political reasons are made a basis for linguistic definitions, and this inevitably causes much confusion. It is known, for instance, that Russian, Ukrainian, and Bielorussian not long ago were regarded as three dialects of one language, the Great Russian, the Little Russian, and the White Russian. Low German and High German are two languages, while the former is sometimes called a dialect. Sometimes doubts are expressed about whether a language is really a language or a dialect and, in the event that agreement is achieved upon its being a dialect, it remains unclear of which language it is a dialect.

It is obvious that a classification of languages should be a linguistic one, and all sorts of political or cultural reasons should not influence the definition of what is a language and what is just a dialect of a language.

Before we proceed further we should explain that our classification of the Mongolian languages is based on the following principle: the tongue of a group of the populations of a territory within which no linguistic differences can be found other than individual peculiarities in pronunciation, syntax, or vocabulary is called here a dialect. The dialects differ from each other in phonologic and other aspects. The characteristics of a dialect manifest themselves in the speech of all people inhabiting the area concerned and do not display

O — Oirat, Written Oirat language, the language of the Zaya Pandita Script.

P — the ḥP'ags-pa script, see p. 12, n. 6.

SH — Secret History, see p. 12, n. 1.

Torg. — the Torgut dialect of the Kalmuk language.

Ts.B — the Tsongol dialect of the Buriat language.

Urd. — Urdus, see p. 8, n. 6 and 9.

The names of languages mentioned only a few times, e.g., Durbut Beise, Aru Khorchin, etc. are not abbreviated.

any varieties other than individual ones. A group of dialects is here called a language. A language differing from another related language is a linguistic unit characterized by particular phonologic, morphologic, lexical, and other developments, constituting the basis of all dialects of which the language concerned consists.

8. The history of Mongolian can be divided into three main stages.

#### A. Common Mongolian.

In consequence of the dissolution of the Altaic unity, long ago, Pre-Turkic and Pre-Mongolian emerged as two different branches. Pre-Turkic split into Proto-Bulgarian (which later on became Volga Bulgarian, the ancestor of Chuvash) and Common Turkic (the ancestor of the present Turkic languages). Pre-Mongolian became gradually Common Mongolian. The latter, i.e., Common Mongolian, is characterized by the following:

- a. It still had at the beginning of words the consonant \**p* or \**φ*.
- b. The groups \**aya*, \**ayu*, etc. were preserved.
- c. The vowels \**i* and \**i* were distinguished only after \**q*, \**y* and \**k*, \**g*; in all the other cases \**i* already had become \**i* and palatalized the immediately preceding consonants \**t* and \**d*, transforming them into \**č* and \**ž*.

There are, of course, also other characteristic traits of Common Mongolian.

Ancient Mongolian was almost identical with Common Mongolian. Written Mongolian reflects the Ancient Mongolian well from the point of view of its phonetic and morphologic development, its most outstanding characteristic being that it has not preserved the Ancient Mongolian \**p* or \**φ*.

The Ancient Mongolian period ended probably in the XII century of our era.

#### B. Middle Mongolian.

This stage is well explored, because many sources have been preserved, e.g., the *Secret History* and other documents in Chinese transcription, the *hP'ags-pa script*, and numerous Moslem sources

of the XIII—XIV century. This stage probably lasted till the XVI century.

Middle Mongolian is characterized by the following:

- a. The initial \**p* or \**φ* has become *h* or *χ*.
- b. The consonants \**y* and \**g* in intervocalic position have disappeared, but the vowels, especially if they are not the same (e.g. *a* and *u*), are not contracted yet.
- c. The »breaking« of \**i* and the development of \**e* into a rounded front vowel has only started.

Certain characteristics of this stage have survived in Dagur and Mogol.

#### C. Modern Mongolian.

This stage begins in the XVI century and still continues.

Its characteristics are the following:

- a. Long vowels have emerged in the place of the ancient groups \**aya*, \**ayu*, etc.
  - b. The vowel \**i* has become, in certain positions, another vowel (the so-called »breaking«).
  - c. The vowel \**e* has become, in certain positions, a rounded front vowel.
9. Proceeding to the classification of the living Mongolian languages of the present time, independently of their historic classification, we can state the following.

#### A. Monguor.

This language, spoken in West Kansu, is an independent language and not a dialect of another Mongolian language.

First of all, it has preserved the initial \**p* or \**φ* as *f* (and in other positions as *χ*, etc.), while in no other Mongolian language outside of Kansu is there an initial *f*.

Another peculiar development is that in Monguor in the same words a strong consonant in the medial position has become a weak consonant, but the initial weak consonant has become a strong consonant.

The consonants \*t and \*k in consequence of a strong palatalization have become *ts*.

The vowels \*o and \*ö have converged and become *o*. The same happened to the vowels \*u and \*ü which have become *u*.

The vowel \*i after the labial consonant \*b has developed into *u*.

Monguor has lost the vocalic harmony in suffixes. As for the morphology of Monguor it is characterized by a peculiar locative form in *-re* which does not occur in other Mongolian languages.

Monguor has also an unusual plural form, and its conjugation is slightly different from that of the remaining Mongolian languages.

It is beyond doubt that Monguor is a separate Mongolian language not understandable to other Mongols.

Shirongol and Shera Yögur, represented by materials collected by POTANIN and MANNERHEIM, are more or less close to Monguor. The material available is limited and was not collected by linguists so that it is difficult to say anything about their place among other languages or dialects. Conventionally they may be considered dialects of the same group as Monguor.

#### B. D a g u r.

A separate language differing greatly from all the other Mongolian languages is Dagur in Manchuria. It is divided into two main dialects, that of Hailar and another one spoken near the city of Tsitsikar in the Nonni valley. The former has lost its initial *χ* < \*φ, the latter has preserved the secondary *χ*.

Dagur is marked by the preservation of the diphthongs *au* < \*ayu and *eu* < \*egü.

Another characteristic is the preservation of the vowel \*e as *e* in positions in which it has become a rounded vowel in other Mongolian languages.

Dagur does not distinguish between \*ö and \*ü which have converged and become *u*.

A peculiarity of Dagur is that \*b in the middle of words has become a non-syllabic *u*.

All final consonants of syllables or words have become *r*.

The vowels \**o* and \**u* have converged and become *o* before the vowel \**u* of the second syllable, or *qa* (at the beginning of words *wqa*) before the vowel \**a* of the second syllable.

Dagur is characterized by peculiar traits in its grammar. It has preserved, as the only presently spoken Mongolian language, the inclusive and exclusive pronouns of the first person of the plural and a complete conjugation of the auxiliary verb \**a-* 'to be'. The plural is formed with the Tungus suffix *-sul*, and so on.

#### C. Mogol.

A separate language is also Mogol spoken in Afghanistan. It differs in that it has lost the initial *h* or *χ* < \**φ*, but it has preserved the diphthong *öw* < \**ayu* and \**egü*. There is no »breaking« of the vowel \**i*.

The syllables *qi* and *yi* still exist, while in the remaining Mongolian languages they have converged with \**ki* and \**gi*. The vowel \**e* has remained as such even in positions in which it has become a rounded vowel in many other Mongolian languages.

Mogol has preserved the final consonant *n* of the stem in declension in all case forms, while Dagur drops it in all cases and many other languages drop it in some cases but still preserve it in others.

Though the material on Mogol is rather limited, there is no doubt that it is a separate language of the Western branch of Mongolian.

#### D. Oirat.

The Oirat dialects, i.e. the dialects of the Dörbet, Bayit, Torgut, Uriankha, Zakhachin, Dambi-Ölet, and Mingat in North-West Mongolia (i.e., in the north-western part of Outer Mongolia), and of the Torgut in Alashan, Chinhai, and Zungaria, and other parts of Inner Asia, constitute the Oirat language. The dialects mentioned are close to each other and differ from each other slightly. Therefore, I consider them dialects of one language. The Oirats created their own written language differing from the colloquial and displaying a few artificial traits.

The Oirat language is characterized by complete contraction of the vowels of the groups \**aya*, \**ayu*, etc.

There is the »breaking» of the vowel *\*i*. The vowel *\*e* has become *ö* in certain positions.

The affricates *\*č* and *\*ž* have become *ts* and *z* before vowels other than *\*i*. The diphthongs have developed into long front vowels, e.g. *ä*, *ö*, etc. Back vowels have become front before *\*i*, e.g., *\*a > ä*, *\*o > ö*, etc.

#### E. K a l m u c k .

A group of Oirats moved west at the beginning of the XVII century and reached the bank of the Volga river. The dialects they spoke, mainly Dörbet and Torgut, became in the course of the time a new language. This is the Kalmuck language. Although it is very close to Oirat spoken outside Russia, Kalmuck is a separate language, because it has undergone a certain influence by Russian and Tatar.

It differs little phonetically or morphologically from Oirat, but its vocabulary is very different. Therefore, Kalmuck cannot be regarded, in its present stage, as a dialect of another language.

Kalmuck is divided into three main dialects: Dörbet, Torgut, and (on the Don river) Buzāwa.

A small group of Kalmucks, the so-called Sart Kalmucks, about 3,500 persons, live in the Kirgis area near the lake Issik Köl.

At the present time there seem to be no Kalmucks in the Volga region, because in connection with the liquidation of the Kalmuck Republic at the end of World War II all Kalmucks were deported to parts unknown and dispersed there. We do not have any information about them.

#### F. E a s t M o n g o l i a n .

The languages discussed above are separate languages. The following tongues spoken in Inner and Outer Mongolia are in my opinion dialects of one language which can be called East Mongolian. It is important to point out that the tribes speaking these dialects call themselves »Mongol», while the others do not use this name but call themselves Dagur, Monguor, Mogol, Oirat, and Kalmuck.

The tribes inhabiting Inner Mongolia and the Khalkha Mongols in Outer Mongolia are the only ones calling themselves »Mongol».

a. K h a l k h a.

The most important dialect spoken in Outer Mongolia is Khalkha. This dialect differs from all the other dialects of East Mongolian but slightly. An important phonetic feature is that Khalkha has four affricates instead of *tš* and *dž* of the remaining dialects of this group: before \**i* Khalkha has *tš* and *dž*, but before other vowels it has *ts* and *dz*.

As in all the other dialects of East Mongolian, here the groups *\*ayu* and *\*egü* have developed into *ü* and *ǖ* respectively.

The vowels \**ö* and \**ü* are distinguished consistently. The »breaking« of \**i* has taken place and the vowel \**e* has become a rounded vowel in certain positions.

A characteristic feature of Khalkha, bringing it close to all the remaining East Mongolian dialects, is the so-called labial attraction, i.e., a progressive labialization of the long vowels *ä* and *ë*. This manifests itself in that after *o* of the first syllable only *ö* follows (and not *ä*); after *ü* of the initial syllable only *ǖ* (and not *ë*) can follow.

Khalkha differs from the other dialects in its vocabulary, having a new political and scientific terminology, because Outer Mongolia has been for quite long a time a formally independent sovereign state.

b. T h e U l a n T s a b d i a l e c t s.

The language of the Mongols living in the territory of the Ulan Tsab League (the banners Dörbön Khukhet, Mu Mingan, and three banners of the Urat) differs from Khalkha slightly and in particular in that *ts* and *dž* occur in all positions and not only before \**i*.

The dialect of the Khalkha Right Wing Banner belonging also to the Ulan Tsab League is just Khalkha.

c. U r d u s.

In the territory of the province of Sui Yuan (Ordos, or more correctly Urdus, League Yeke Ju) Urdus Mongols live (banners Khangin, Dalat, Jungar, Otok, Ushin, Jasak, and Wan). Their dialect is a typical Inner Mongolian one. It differs from Khalkha in that it has

*tš* and *dž* in all positions, but as in South Khalkha (or Gobi Khalkha) dialects, the strong consonants at the beginning of words (i.e., \**t*, \**q*, \**k*, and \**c*) have become weak consonants (i.e. *d*, *g*, *g*, and *dž* respectively) when the following syllable starts with a strong or voiceless consonant.

In some subdialects of Urdus the vowel \**o* of the initial syllable remains *o* only when the vowel of the second syllable is \**a*, but it becomes *u* when the second syllable contains the vowel \**u*. Similarly, \**ö* has become *uu* before \**ü*, but it remains *ö* before the vowel \**e*.

#### d. Chakhar.

The language of the Chakhar Mongols in the Chakhar territory and in that of the Shilingol League (Ujumchin, Khuchin, Sunit, Abaga, and Abaganar) is what is usually called Chakhar Mongolian.

These dialects are very close to Khalkha. The main difference is that Chakhar has *tš* and *dž* in all positions, while Khalkha has them only before the vowel \**i*.

In some Chakhar dialects the initial strong consonants become weak in the same positions as in Urdus and in Gobi Khalkha.

#### e. Kharchin.

The language of the Kharchin is spoken in the territory of the Jostu League (three original aimaks of Kharchin, Tumet, and Tangut-Khalkha). The Kharchin and Tumet dialects differ slightly from each other. A characteristic feature of the Kharchin dialect is the development of the affricates \**c* and \**č* at the beginning of words into *tš* and *dž* respectively before \**i*, while before other vowels they have become *ts* and *dž* respectively, i.e., apico-alveolar affricates.

The vowel \**u* of the initial syllable has become in certain positions a diphthong *ua* or *wa* (or *wä*), and the group \**ayu* has produced *ö* or *ö*, while \**uyu* has become *ü*.

#### f. The Ju Uda dialects.

The territory of the Ju Uda League situated between the territories of the Jostu League, Chakhar, and the Jirim League, comprises the banners Naiman, Aru Khorchin, Jarut, Keshikten, Barin, Aok-

han, Chokhor Khalkha, and Onniut, whose populations speak dialects differing only slightly from those of the Mongols inhabiting the territory of the Jirim League, i.e., the banners Khorchit, Jalait, Durbut, and Gorlos. Here, in the northern part of the territory of the Jirim League, one of the most peculiar phonetic developments is the replacement of the affricate \*č by the spirant š (š or s or s).

All these dialects (a — f) may be regarded as dialects of one language, namely the East Mongolian.

The characteristic features of this language are the following.

Labial attraction, »breaking», the vowel \*e has become a rounded front vowel in certain positions; complete contraction of the vowels of the groups \*aya, \*ayu, etc.; preservation of the affricates as such (\*č and \*ž remain tš and dž respectively in some dialects, and they become tš and ts, dž and dz respectively in various positions).

A characteristic trait is also the conjugation in which there is only one form for all persons.

#### G. Buriat.

We have arrived at the Buriat language which is a separate language of the East Mongolian branch.

The Buriat language is characterized by the replacement of the affricates with spirants. The spirant \*s has become h at the beginning and in the middle of words, and d or t at the end of syllables or words.

The consonant \*g has become j before \*i. The Buriat conjugation has special forms for each person, e.g., *jabanab* 'I go', *jabanaš* 'thou goest', etc. There are also many other peculiar developments in phonetics and morphology. The Buriat vocabulary differs greatly from that of the neighbouring languages.

The Buriat language is not uniform but consists of several dialects. In the Western Dialects (Alar, Ekhirit, Bokhan, Tunka) the vowels \*ö and \*ü are well distinguished, but in Khori and Aga they have converged and resulted in u. In Alar \*k before \*i has become s, in Bokhan t ~ š, in Ekhirit t. The Ekhirit dialect has before \*i the consonant j instead of ž (at the beginning of words).

A separate dialect is also that spoken in the Barguzin area. It is

phonetically the same as Ekhirit, but from the point of view of its vocabulary it is close to Khori.

In Bargu, i.e., in the north-western corner of Manchuria, the Bargu Buriat dialect is spoken. It is a *h*-dialect like all the other West and East Buriat dialects, and the affricates have become spirants except for \*ž before \*i where it remains an affricate (i.e., dž as in Kalmuck). The ablative case is formed with the suffix -āha, while all the other dialects have -hā (Barguzin has -han). There are also other characteristic features.

There are two transitional Buriat dialects occupying the place between Buriat and Khalkha. These are the Tsongol and Sartul dialects. The Sartul dialect distinguishes between \*ö and \*ü, but Tsongol does not. Both dialects preserve their affricates (i.e., tš, ts, dž, and dz) and the spirant \*s remains s, except in the final position where it is d or t. Tsongol has also \*u > o before the vowel \*u of the second syllable. The conjugation in these dialects is typical Buriat. The same can be said about their vocabulary.

#### 10. Let us sum up what we have said above.

There are two main branches of Mongolian: 1. East Mongolian and 2. West Mongolian.

##### 1. East Mongolian branch

- A. Dagur: a. Hailar dialect, b. Tsitsikar dialect (Nonni valley)
- B. Monguor: a. Monguor proper (Dolot), b. Aragwa, c. San-ch'uan, d. Santa, e. Shera Yögur, f. Shirongol
- C. East Mongolian (or simply Mongolian): a. Khalkha, b. Urdus, c. Urat, d. Tumut, e. Kharchin, f. Chakhar, g. Chipchin (or Khuchin Bargu)
- D. Buriat: a. Ekhirit, b. Tunka, c. Bokhan, d. Alar, e. Barguzin, f. Khori, g. Aga, h. Bargu Buriat, i. Tsongol, j. Sartul

##### 2. West Mongolian branch

- A. Mogol
- B. Oirat
- C. Kalmuck

## PART ONE: PHONOLOGY

### Vowels

#### General Remarks

11. The Mongolian languages have a large stock of vowels. A peculiar feature of the vocalic system is the contrast of long vowels versus short vowels and the contrast of back vowels versus front vowels. The distinction between the short and long vowels is essential, because many words differ from each other only in their shortness or length: Urd. *ūla* 'mountain', *ula* 'sole', and *ulā* 'a requisitioned animal for riding or transportation purposes'.

In certain Mongolian languages, the vowels of the initial and the following syllables differ from each other in that the former are completely articulated vowels and the latter are greatly reduced and unclearly pronounced vowels. The vowels of the non-initial syllables easily lose their specific articulations, become reduced and disappear in many cases: Urd. *amur* 'peace' = Kh. *amor* = Kalm. *amṛ*.

The vowels of the initial syllable remain, in general, the same in all Mongolian languages or in most of them. Great differences in the vocalism of the initial syllable are rare. If there are such differences they usually can be explained as results of the influence of the vowels of the following syllables.

#### Short Vowels of the Initial Syllable

12. Common Mongolian possessed the following vowels: \**a*, \**o*, \**u*, \**i*, \**ɛ*, \**e*, \**ö*, and \**ü*. These vowels were preserved in Written Mongolian almost intact. Only the vowel \**i* converged at an early

date with \*i, although even in Pre-classical Written Mongolian, mainly in manuscripts of the XIV century, \*i still occurs: *saqii-* 'to defend', *qilinča* 'sin', etc. Under the influence of neighbouring sounds in the words some of the vowels of the initial syllable have changed in spoken languages.

\**a*

According to RAMSTEDT the vowel *a* is a »pure« *a* in Khalkha, i.e., it is the same as the Italian *a* in *padre* or the Finnish *a* in *pala* 'piece': Kh. *mal* 'livestock'.

The vowel \**a* > Mo. *a* is represented in all Mongolian languages as *a* of the same quality. In West Buriat dialects, however, this vowel is pronounced much more to the back than the Italian *a* in *padre*. But all these nuances are so insignificant that they are never reflected in the transcription. It is correct, therefore, to say that the vowel \**a* of the initial syllable remains the same vowel in all Mongolian languages.

The correspondences can be classified into (A) general ones and (B) special developments.

(A) General correspondences

The general rule is that \**a* is represented by *a* in all Mongolian languages.

Mo. *ab-* 'to take', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *ab-*, Mong. *awu-*, Dag. *au-*, Urd. *ab-*, Kh. *awv-*, Bur. *aba-*, Mog. *afu-*, O *ab-*, Kalm. *aw-* (cf. *amnā* 'he takes') id.

Mo. *qalayun* 'hot', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *qala'un*, Mong. *χalōn*, Dag. *χalōη*, Urd. *χalūn*, Kh. *χalūη*, Bur. *χalūη*, Mog. *qalōun*, O *χaloun*, Kalm. *χalūn* id.

Mo. *naran* 'sun', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *naran*, Mong. *nara*, Dag. *nar*, Urd. *nara*, Kh. *narv*, Bur. *naraη*, Mog. *naran*, O *naran*, Kalm. *narη* id.

Mo. *qažayar* 'bridle', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qada'ar* ~ *qadār*, Mong. *qadar*, Dag. *χadāla*, Urd. *χadžār*, Kh. *χadzār*, Bur. *χazār*, Mog. *qadār*, O *χazār*, Kalm. *χazār* id.

Mo. *yar* 'hand, arm', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qar*, Mong. *gar*, Dag. *gari*, Urd. *gar*, Kh., Bur. *gar*, Mog. *qar*, O *yar*, Kalm. *gar* id.

#### (B) Special developments

There are various special developments. General rules can be given only in few cases.

(a) Under the influence of the vowel \**i* of the second syllable the vowel \**a* of the initial syllable has become a palatalized vowel in all Mongolian languages. Its pronunciation varies between *a* (French *a* in *patte*) and *ä* (Finnish *ä* in *hän* 'he'): Dag., Urd., Kh., Bur. *ä*, and Kalm. *ä*.

Mo. *bari-* 'to seize', Mong. *bari-*, Dag. *bári-*, Urd. *bár-iāt* 'having seized', Kh. *bári-* 'to seize', Bur. *bári-*, Mog. *barinā* 'he seizes', Kalm. *bär-* 'to seize'.

Mo. *qari-* 'to come back', Mong. *χari-* 'to return', Dag. *χári-*, Urd. *χári-*, Kh. *χári-*, Bur. *χári-*, Mog. *qarinā* 'he returns', Kalm. *χär-* 'to return'.

(b) A short *a* of all the remaining Mongolian languages becomes a long *a* in Monguor before \**u*, and it results in *o* or *ö* in Mogol for no obvious reasons.

Mong. *dāli* 'shoulder', Mog. *dōlu* 'scapula' = Mo. *dalu*, Urd. *dalu*, Kh. *dallv*, Bur. *dala*, O *dalu*, Kalm. *dalv* 'scapula'.

Mong. *dāri-* 'to press', Mog. *dōrunā* 'he squeezes' = Mo. *daru-*, Urd. *daru-*, Kh. *darrv-*, Kalm. *dar-* 'to press'.

Mong. *dāχu* 'a short garment with no sleeves which was worn in olden times by Monguor women' = Mo. *daqu* 'fur coat', Urd. *daxu* 'a short coat covered with fur', Kh. *daxxv*, Bur. *daxa*, Kalm. *daxv* 'a coat covered with fur'.

Mog. *tšosun* 'snow', Mong. *tšiäse* = Mo. *časun*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *časun*, Dag. *tšas*, Urd. *džasu*, Kh. *tsassv*, Bur. *sahan*, O *casun*, Kalm. *tsasn* id.

Mog. *γöl* 'fire' = Mo. *yal*, Mong. *gar*, Dag. *qali*, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *gal* id.

Mog. *γöqej* 'pig' = Mo. *yaqač*, Mong. *χāqε*, Dag. *gāyv*, Urd. *gaxā*, Kh. *gaxvē*, Bur. *gaxā*, Kalm. *gaxā* ~ *gaxā* id.

Mog. *qoburya* 'rib' = Mo. *qabirya* id., Mong. *χawudze* < \**qabi-sun* 'side', Dag. *χabirg* 'rib', Urd. *χawirga* 'side', Kh. *χáwırnq* 'rib', Bur. *χabirga*, Kalm. *χäwryv* 'side'.

Mog. *olana* 'he kills' = Mo. *ala-* 'to kill', Urd. *ala-*, Kh. *al-* ~ *allo-*, Bur. *ala-*, Kalm. *al-* id.

Mog. *sōin* 'correct' = Mo. *sajin* 'good', Mong. *sēn* id., Dag. *sajxan* 'pretty', Urd. *sān*, Kh. *säęη*, Bur. *häęη* ~ *hāη*, Kalm. *sān* 'good, healthy'.

(c) Under the influence of an immediately following consonant \**b* the vowel \**a* results in a rounded vowel in a few words: Khalkha *å* ~ *o*, Kalm. *o*.

Mo. *jabu-* 'to go, to move', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *jabu-*, Mong. *jū-* < \**jabu-*, Dag. *jav-*, Urd. *javu-*, Kh. *jävv-*, Kalm. *jövv-* id.

(d) Under the influence of a preceding \**č* or \**ž* the vowel \**a* has developed into *iä* in Monguor.

Mong. *tšiäṣq* 'snow' = Mo. *časun*, Dag. *tšas*, Urd. *džasu*, Kh. *tsassv*, Bur. *sahan*, Kalm. *tsasŋ* id.

Mong. *tšiädi-* 'to satiate oneself' = Mo. *čad-*, Urd. *tšad-*, Kh. *tsaddv-*, Bur. *sada-*, Kalm. *tsadv-* id.

Mong. *tšiärgi-* 'to swallow' = Mo. *žalgi-*, Urd. *džalgi-*, Kh. *dzälgi-*, Bur. *zalja-*, Kalm. *zälgə-* id.

(e) Under the combined influence of a preceding \**č* or \**ž* and a following *ä* the vowel \**a* has developed into *i* in Monguor, Dagur, and sometimes in Urdus.

Mong. *tšigān* 'white', Dag. *tšiyān* = Mo. *čayan* < \**čayayan*, MMo. (SH, P) *čaqa'an*, Urd. *tšaqān*, Kh. *tsaqān*, Bur. *sayān*, Kalm. *tsayān* id.

Mong. *džiäjān* 'fate' = Dag. *džijā*, Urd. *džijā*, Bur. *sajān* id.

(f) Under the influence of the vowel \**u* of the third syllable the vowel \**a* has developed into *u* in the Alar dialect of the Buriat language.

Al.B *bulgāhan* 'a temporary hut made of branches of trees' = Mo. *balyasun* 'palace, city', Kh. *balqas* 'ruines of a city or a wall', Kalm. *balyasŋ* 'city'.

Al.B *durahan* 'liquor made of milk' (in Siberian Russian *tara-sun*) = Mo. *darasun* 'wine', Urd. *darasu* 'alcoholic beverage'.

$*_o$ 

13. The vowel *o* is an open vowel in Khalkha, according to RAMSTEDT. It is the same also in Urdus, while in Buriat it is a vowel articulated with lips rounded inertly and playing an insignificant role in producing this sound.

The Common Mongolian vowel  $*_o$  becomes a palatalized *ö* (almost identical with French *o* in *homme*) before the vowel  $*i$  of the second syllable in Urdus, Khalkha, and Buriat. In Chakhar and Kalmuck  $*_o$  becomes *ö* in this position, which is identical with French *eu* in *peu* or German *ö* in *können*:

Mo. *morin* 'horse' = Dag. *mori*, Mong. *mori*, Ch. *mōri*, Urd. *mōri*, Kh. *mör*, Bur. *mörön*, Mog. *morin*, Kalm. D *mörn*, Kalm. Buz. *morn* id.

Mo. *qorin* 'twenty' = Dag. *χori*, Ch. *χöri*, Urd. *χöri*, Kh. *χör*, Bur. *χörön*, Kalm. *χörn* id.

(A) The general rule is that  $*_o$  remains *o* in monosyllabic words in all languages. An exception is the Dagur language where the initial  $*_o$  becomes *wqa* in monosyllabic stems.

Mo. *bol-* 'to become', MMo. (SH, P) *bol-*, Dag. *bol-*, Urd., Kh., Bur., Mog., O, Kalm. *bol-* id.

Mo. *ol-* 'to find', MMo. (SH, P), Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *ol-* = Dag. *wqal-* id. The rules concerning the disyllabic and polysyllabic stems with  $*_o$  in the initial syllable are more complicated.

In Monguor, Khalkha, Buriat, Mogol, Oirat, and Kalmuck the vowel  $*_o$  results in *o* with a few exceptions which will be discussed below.

In Dagur  $*_o$  remains *o* before  $*u$  of the following syllable (a), while it becomes *qa* (and at the beginning of words *wqa*) before a syllable with  $*a$  (b).

In Urdus  $*_o$  remains *o* only before  $*a$  (b), but it results in *u* before  $*u$  (a). The latter development seems to be of an early date, because the language of the Secret History already contains forms with *u* <  $*_o$  in this position. It occurs also in other languages but inconsistently.

(a) Mo. *modun* 'tree, wood', Kh. *moddv*, Bur. *modon*, Kalm. *modn* id. = SH *mudun*, Dag. *mōd*, Urd. *mudu* id.

Mo. *odun* 'star', SH *hodun*, Mong. *födi*, Dag. *od* ~ *oddo*, Kh. *oddo*, Bur. *odoŋ*, Kalm. *odŋ* id. = Urd. *udu* id.

Mo. *dobtul-* 'to ride quickly', SH *dobtul-*, Kh. *dobtol-*, Kalm. *doptl-* 'to run quickly, to gallop' = Urd. *dubtul-* id.

Mo. *yolumta* 'hearth', SH *yolumta*, Kh. *golumta* id. = Kalm. *golŋtu* ~ *gulŋtu*, Urd. *gulumta*, Al.B *gulanta* id.

Mo. *sonqu-*, Dag. *songo-*, Kh. *songv-* 'to choose, to elect' = Urd. *sunqu-*, Kalm. *sunqv-* ~ *sonqv-* id.

Mo. *sojul*, Kh. *sojjol* 'civilization' = Al.B *sujal* id., Urd. *sujurχa-* 'to deign to, to be pleased to' (derived from the same stem).

(b) Mo. *qola* 'far, distant', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qola*, Dag. *χol* ~ *χoal*, Kh. *χollv*, Bur. *χolo*, Kalm. *χol⁰* id. = Urd. *χolo* id.

Mo. *olan* 'many, numerous', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *olan*, Kh. *ollon*, Bur. *oln*, Kalm. *olŋ* id. = Dag. *wɔalan*, Urd. *olon* id.

Mo. *qota* 'city, corral', MMo. (SH) *qotan* 'corral', Kh. *χotv*, Bur. *χoton*, Kalm. *χotŋ* 'corral, city' = Urd. *goto* 'corral, city'.

Mo. *yoyosun* < \**yoyalsun* 'wild onion', Bur. *goyot*, Kalm. *goyasŋ* id. = Dag. *gɔaqas* id., Urd. *gogot* 'sort of leek'.

(B) The irregular developments are numerous. There is an inconsistent development *\*o* > *u* in Monguor and other languages for no obvious reason (a); the same development caused by a following *ü* (b), or as a result of contamination (c); the development *\*o* > *ö* (i.e., long *o*) in Monguor (d); *\*o* > *uä* or *ää* in quite few cases in Monguor (e); *\*o* > *i* under the influence of the following syllable *\*či* (f).

(a) The vowel *\*o* results in *u* in various Mongolian languages in relatively rare cases and for no perceptible reason. This occurs in Monguor, Urdus, and in certain Buriat dialects:

Mong. *uro-* 'to enter' = Mo. *oro-* < \**ora-*, Urd. *oro-*, Kh. *orv-*, Bur. *oro-*, Kalm. *or-* id.

Mong. *sunos-* 'to hear' = Mo. *sonos-* < \**sonas-*, Urd. *sonos-*, Kh. *sonvs-*, Kalm. *sons-* id.

Mong. *χulo* 'far, distant' = Mo. *qola*, Dag. *χol*, Urd. *χolo*, Kh. *χollv*, Bur. *χolo*, Kalm. *χol⁰* id.

Urd. *quwi* 'desert', AgaB *qubi* 'sand steppe' = Mo. *yobi*, Kh. *gowi*, Kalm. *gowi* ~ *göwŋ* id.

(b) In a few cases the development  $*o > u$  can be explained as a result of the influence of the following  $\bar{u}$  (assimilation):

Mo. *qosiyun* 'snout, banner' (as a territorial and administrative subdivision) = Urd. *qušū*, Kh. *χušū* ~ *χošū*, Al.B *χušūη* 'snout', Kalm. *χušū* 'snout', Kalm. *χošūn* 'banner'.

Mo. *oruyul-* 'to cause to enter', Urd., Kh. *orūl-* id. = Al.B *urūl-* id.

(c) An abnormal development  $*o > u$  is Kalm. *ujv-* 'to sew' = Mo. *ojv-* <  $*oja-$ , MMo. (Mu.) *oja-*, Urd. *ojv-*, Kh. *ojjv-*, Bur. *ojv-* id.

This word has converged with *\*uja-* 'to bind' in Kalmuck. Therefore, this is not a phonetic development.

(d) In a few cases the vowel  $*o$  has become long in Monguor:

Mong. *födi* 'star' = Mo. *odun*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hodun*, Dag. *od* ~ *oddo*, Urd. *udu*, Kh. *oddn*, Bur. *odoη*, Kalm. *odη* id.

Mong. *öli-* 'to find' = Mo., Urd., etc. *ol-* (cf. *supra*).

Mong. *öli-* 'to become' = Mo. *bol-*, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *bol-* id.

(e) In quite few cases in Monguor  $*o$  has developed into *uā* or *ā*. This may be a result of delabialization caused by the consonant *f*:

Mong. *fän* ~ *χuän* 'year' = Mo. *on*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hon*, Dag. *oη* (~ *χuan*), Urd. *on*, Kh. *oη*, Kalm. *on* id.

(f) Under the influence of the syllable *\*či* the vowel  $*o$  has developed into *i* in Dagur and Urdus:

Mo. *od-* 'to go', Kh. *otši-*, Bur. *ošo-* 'to go' = Dag. *iči-*, Urd. *itči-* id.

#### $*u$

14. The vowel *u* is a dull sound produced in the back of the oral cavity with the larynx lowered considerably. It makes the acoustic impression of a vowel occupying the place between *o* and *u*. In transcription the sign *u* is used.

The Common Mongolian  $*u$  is represented in the modern languages in general as *u*. There are, however, numerous particular developments. Thus here, too, regular (A) and irregular developments (B) can be found.

### (A) Regular developments

The general rule is that \**u* has converged with *o* in Dagur and, therefore, it is represented by *qa* (initially *wqa*) before \**a* of the following syllable (a), and by *o* before \**u* (b). When followed by *ā* the vowel \**u* remains *u* in Dagur (c). In Kharchin \**u* has developed into *wa* in all cases, except when it is followed by *ā* in which case it becomes *o* (c).

In the Tsongol dialect of the Buriat language \**u* remains *u* in monosyllabic words or when followed by a syllable with \**a* (a); when followed by \**u* of the second syllable it becomes *o* (b).

In the remaining Mongolian languages it is mostly *u* in all positions. In Mogol it becomes *u<sup>i</sup>* before \**č* and \**ž*, e.g., *qu<sup>i</sup>tšanā* 'he barks', *su<sup>i</sup>dži* 'sitting'.

Before \**i* of the second syllable the vowel \**u* has developed into a vowel articulated a bit more to the front. In Kalmuck \**u* in the initial syllable \**qu* before \**i* becomes a front vowel *ü* much resembling the French *u* or the German *ü* (d). Before \**b* or \**m* the vowel \**u* becomes *o* in Kalmuck (e), and if \**b* is followed by \**i* the vowel *u* develops into *ö* (f).

(a) Mo. *dunda* ~ *dumda* 'middle', MMo. (SH, P) *dumdadu* 'medial', *dunda* 'middle', Dag. *dqand* 'in the center', Mong. *dunda* 'middle', Urd. *dunda*, Khar. *dwanda*, Kh. *dundv*, Ts.B *dundv*, Kalm. *dundv* id.

Mo. *γurban* 'three', MMo. (P) *qurban*, Dag. *goarwa*, Mong. *gurān*, Urd. *gurwa*, Khar. *qwarab*, Kh. *gurwv* ~ *gurv*, Ts.B *gurwv*, Kalm. *gorwv* id.

(b) Mo. *qurdun* 'quick', MMo. (SH) *qurdun*, Urd. *χurdun*, Khar. *χwaradŋ*, Kh. *χurdvŋ*, Ts.B *χordonŋ*, Kalm. *χurdŋ* id.

Mo. *usun* 'water', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *usun*, Dag. *os*, Mong. *fudzu*, Urd. *usu*, Khar. *was*, Kh. *us*, Ts.B *oso*, Mog. *usun*, Kalm. *usŋ* id.

(c) Mo. *umba-* 'to swim', Dag. *umpā-* id., Kh. *umbv-* 'to cross a water'.

Mo. *ulayan* 'red', Dag. *ulāŋ* ~ *χulāŋ*, Mong. *fulan*, Urd. *ulān*, Khar. *olān*, Kh. *ulāŋ*, Bur. *ulāŋ*, Kalm. *ulān* id.

Mo. *dulayan* 'warm', Dag. *dulāŋ*, Urd. *dulān*, Khar. *dolāχan*, Kh., B *dulāŋ*, Ts.B *dulāŋ*, Kalm. *dulān* id.

(d) Kalm. *χürm* ~ *χürim* 'wedding party, festival' = Mo. *qurim*, Urd. *χorim* (!), Kh. *χurym*, Al.B *χorim* id.

Kalm. *χüwlyon* 'a person who reincarnates' = Mo. *qubilyan*, Kh. *χuwylgān* id.

Kalm. *χüwl-* 'to change the appearance, to take another shape' = Mo. *qubil-* id., Urd. *χuwil-*, Kh. *χuwyl-* id.

(e) Kalm. *omši-* 'to read' = Mo. *uŋsi-* ~ *umsi-*, Urd. *omši-* (!), Kh. *uŋši-*, Bur. *umšv-* id.

Kalm. *omā* 'uterus' = Mo. *umač*, Urd. *umāč*, Kh. *umvē* id.

Kalm. *owši* 'a layman living according to the monastic rules' = Mo. *ubasi* < Sanskrit id., Urd. *uwaši* id.

Kalm. *gorwŋ* ~ *gurwŋ* 'three' = Mo. *yurban*, Urd. *gurwa*, Kh. *gurwŋ* id.

(f) Kalm. *χöwŋ* 'part' = Mo. *qubi*, Urd. *χuwi*, Kh. *χuwŋ* id.

Kalm. *χömi-* 'to contract, to pull toward the center' = Mo. *qumi-*, Urd. *χumi-* ~ *χomi-*, Kh. *χumŋ-* id.

#### (B) Irregular developments

(a) In rare cases \**u* becomes *o* in Kalmuck and in the Alar dialect of the Buriat language, when it is followed by the vowel \**u* in the next syllable. This is a development similar to that in Tsongol with the difference that in the latter it is regular while in Kalmuck and Alar it occurs only in a few words. It is possible that these irregular forms are borrowings.

Kalm. *gosŋ* 'boot' < \**yutulsun* = Mo. *yutul*, Urd. *gutul*, Khar. *gwatol*, Kh. *gutnl* ~ *gutnsn*, AgaB *gutahanŋ* id.

Kalm. *oŋgv-* 'to fart' = Mo. *uŋyu-*, MMo. (Mu.) *hunqu-*, Urd. *uŋgu-*, Kh. *uŋgv-*, Al.B *uŋga-* id.

Al.B *nomo* 'bow' = Mo. *numun*, Urđ. *numu*, Kh. *numv*, Kalm. *numŋ* id.

Al.B. *homo* 'arrow' = Mo. *sumun*, Urd. *sumu*, Kh. *sumv*, Kalm. *sumŋ* id.

(b) In a few cases the vowel \**u* has become *a* in Dagur and Alar Buriat. Sometimes this development may be explained as a result of the influence of the long vowel ā in the second syllable.

Dag. *barχan* 'Buddha' = Mo. *burqan*, Urd. *burχan*, Kh. *burχan*,  
Bur. *burχan*, Kalm. *burχn* id.

Al.B *balā-* 'to snatch away, to take by force' = Mo. *bulija-*,  
Urd. *bulā-*, Kh. *bulā-*, Kalm. *bulā-* id.

#### \**i* and \**i*

15. In Pre-Mongolian there were two vowels of the *i* type: a »normal« *i*, i.e., a front \**i*, and another one which was a back vowel, more or less similar to Russian *ы* and Turkic *i*. The latter is rendered here as *i̥*. These two vowels (\**i* and \**i̥*) converged already in Common Mongolian and both were treated as *i*. Only after and before \**q* and \**y*, i.e., in the syllables *qi* and *yi* (and *iqa*, *iya*, etc.), the vowel *i* remained for a while. It still existed in this position in Ancient Mongolian, and even in the preclassical Written Mongolian language, i.e., prior to the XVII century, such forms occurred as *qilinča* 'sin' (now *kilinče*), *qilyasun* 'hair' (now *kilyasun*), and so on. In Middle Mongolian the groups *qi* and *yi* were preserved more or less consistently, e.g., Mu. *qiryaba* 'he cut the hair', *qir* 'dirt', *čiqin* 'ear', *yürčan* 'penis', *žalyiba* 'he swallowed', etc., cf. also the following examples taken from the hP'ags-pa script: *žoqijaq* 'to establish', *saqiqčin* 'those protecting' which existed along with *t'ak'ija* 'hen' and *žarlīk'ijar* 'according to the edict'.

The back vowel *i̥* still exists after and before *q* in the Mogol language, e.g., *qišlana* 'he cuts', *qilyasun* 'hair' (modern Mo. *kilyasun* id.), *qimsun* 'nail' (modern Mo. *kimusun*), *qiryana* 'he cuts hair' (modern Mo. *kirya-*), *qülqej* 'knife' (modern Mo. *kiluya*), etc. RAMSTEDT uses the sign *i* but says that in all these cases *y* (i.e., *i* in my transcription) could be written instead of *i̥*.

The vowel \**i* is not preserved in any other position and has converged in all Mongolian languages with \**i*. Thus in reference to the syllables \**qi* and \**yi* the following correspondences can be established:

Pre-classical Mo. *qi* and *yi* = MMo. *qi* and *yi*, Mog. *qi* and *gi* < \**yi*, but in all the other Mongolian languages *qi* > *ki* > further developments, and \**yi* > *gi* > further developments.

Therefore, in the following sections only the vowel *i* (< \**i* and \**î*) will be dealt with.

16. The vowel \**i* (of any origin) has been assimilated in numerous cases to the vowel of the immediately following syllable. This phenomenon is called »breaking», which term was introduced by RAMSTEDT.

The »breaking» is a relatively recent phenomenon in Mongolian and did not occur frequently in Middle Mongolian. It is more or less definite that the »breaking» started at the end of the Middle Mongolian period. It is to be assumed that it did not start simultaneously in all dialects. Therefore, certain words occur in various Middle Mongolian documents with the vowel *i* assimilated to the vowel of the second syllable or unassimilated. In general the vowel *i* remains as such in Middle Mongolian (a), but there are also examples of the »breaking» (b).

(a) Mo. žida 'spear', MMo. (SH, Mu.) žida, Mong. džida, Urd. džida, Kh. džaddo, Bur. žada, Ekh.B jada, Kalm. džidə id.

Mo. žiyasun 'fish', MMo. (SH, Mu.) žiyasun, Mong. džiägase, Dag. džayus, Urd. džagus, Kh. dzagvs, Kh.B zaghahan, BB zaguhan, Kalm. zayvṣ id.

(b) Mo. nidurya 'fist', MMo. (Mu.) nudurqa, Mong. nudurga, Urd. nudurga, Kh. nuddvrgv, Bur. nūdarga, Kalm. nudṛy id.

Mo. ničügün 'naked', SH ničügün, Mu. nüčügün, Dag. nitškō, Mong. nitšigōr, Urd. nutšugun, Kh. nuutsagan, Bur. nuusegen, Kalm. nütsəgn id.

The »breaking» is a peculiar feature of spoken languages. This does not mean, however, that it occurs there in all cases. On the contrary, there are numerous cases in which the vowel \**i* regularly remains as such and, when becoming another vowel, it does so independently of the vocalism of the following syllable (A). In numerous cases the »breaking» occurs, (B) but there are numerous inconsistencies.

(A) Conditions under which \**i* is always preserved

17. In Modern Mongolian languages the vowel \**i* regularly remains as such in monosyllabic stems (a) and in di- or polysyllabic

stems the second syllable of which contains either the vowel \*i or \*e (b). Thus the general rule is that in all these cases the vowel concerned is i in all Mongolian languages. A general exception is the Burian language in which the vowel \*i remains i only in monosyllabic stems (a) but tends to become e (*q* ~ *e*, at the beginning of words with a prosthetic *j*-) in polysyllabic words (b). Exceptions to this rule are few: under the influence of the initial \*b the vowel \*i becomes u in Mongolian (c) and in a few words it becomes e in various Mongolian languages, contrary to the general rule (d).

(a) Mo. žil 'year', MMo. (SH, P) žil, Mong. džir, Dag. džil, Urd., Kh. džil, Bur. žil, Ekh.B jil, Kalm. džil id.

Mo. čig 'direction', Urd., Kh., Kalm. tšig id.

Mo. žig 'a strange thing, something unusual, odd', Kh. džig, Kh.B žig, Kalm. džig id.

Mo. ni- 'to blow the nose', Urd., Kh., Kalm. ni- id.

Mo. či 'thou', MMo. (SH, Mu.) či, Mong. tši, Dag. ši, Urd. tši, Kh. tši, Bur. ši, Mog., Kalm. tši id.

(b) Mo. čikin < \*čiqin 'ear', Mong. tšigi, Dag. tšiki, Urd. džixxe, Kh. tšixxi, Mog. tšikin ~ tšekin, Kalm. tšikŋ id. = Bur. šexen id.

Mo. sinži 'mark, sign, omen', Urd., Kh. šindži, Kalm. šindži id. = Bur. šenže 'form, sign, mark, omen'.

Mo. sine 'new', SH, Mu. šini, P šine, Urd. šine, Kh. šina, Kalm. šina id. = Bur. šenq, AgaB šení id.

Mo. bičig 'letter', SH, Mu. bičik, P bičig, Mong. pudžig, Urd., Kh. bitšik, Mog. bitšik, Kalm. bitšig = Bur. bęćk id.

Mo. ilbi ~ jilbi 'magic, sorcery', Urd. ilbē ~ elbe, Kh. ilwə id., Kalm. ilwə 'slyness' = Bur. qelbi 'sorcery'.

Mo. inži 'dowry, slaves and subjects given as a wedding present to a princess', Urd. endži, Kh. indži = Bur. qenže id., but Al.B ünžü id. (contamination with ümžü 'property').

Mo. ire- 'to come', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) ire-, Mong. re-, Dag. ir- ~ jir-, Urd. ire-, Kh., Kalm. ir- id. = Bur. jerę- id.

Mo. inege- ~ inije- 'to laugh', MMo. (SH, Mu.) ine'e- ~ inē-, Mong. şenjē- id., Dag. inēd < \*inijedün 'laughter', Urd. inē- ~ énē- 'to laugh', Kh. inē- id., Mog. innānā 'he laughs', Kalm. inē- 'to laugh' = Bur. qnē-, Al.B. nē- 'to laugh'.

Mo. *biličeg* ~ *biličüg* 'ring', Mu. *bilezük*, Urd. *béledžik* ~ *buledžik* id., Kalm. *biltsəq* id. = Kh.B *bəhəllik* id.

Mo. *ginži* 'chain' < Pers., SH *ginži*, Urd. *gendži*, Kh. *gindži*, Kalm. *gindži* id. = Al.B *gənžə* id.

(c) Mong. *bu* 'I' = Mo., MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *bi*, Dag. *bi*, Urd., Kh. *bi*, Bur. *bī*, Mog., Kalm. *bi* id.

Mong. *pudžig* 'letter, writing' = Mo. *bičig* id., etc. (v. supra).

(d) Bur. *χə-* 'to do, make, put', Mog. *kéná* ~ *kiná* 'he does', Kalm. *ke-* ~ *ki-* id. (a possible contamination with *ge-* 'to speak') = Mo. *ki-* < \**qi-*, MMo. *ki-*, Mong. *gi-*, Dag. *kī-*, Urd. *kī-*, Kh. *χī-* id. (in monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel the vowel is usually long).

Dag. *neke* 'one', Urd. *nēge*, Kh. *negə*, Bur. *negəŋ*, Kalm. *negŋ* id. = Mo. *nigen*, MM. (SH, Mu.) *niken*, P *nik'en*, Mong. *nige*, Mog. *nikān* id. This rare case is, perhaps, a result of the influence by the stem Mo. *nejile-* 'to unite', *nejite* 'together', etc.

#### (B) The »breaking«

18. The so-called »breaking« is the assimilation of the vowel of the initial syllable to the vowel of the following syllable. This means that the vowel \**i* preceding a syllable with \**a*, \**u*, \**ü*, etc. becomes *a*, *u*, *ü* respectively: Kh. *maxxv* 'flesh, meat' = Mo. *mīqan* id. In certain Mongolian languages the vowel \**i* is completely assimilated to the vowel of the following syllable, no trace of it being left, e.g., Kh. *maxxv* 'meat' (it is to be noted that the consonant *m* is not palatalized), while in others the palatalization of the initial consonant unequivocally testifies to the fact that the vowel in question was \**i*, e.g., Al.B *māxan* 'meat' (it is to be noted that the consonant *m* is palatalized).

The vowel \**i* is characterized by particular developments when followed by the groups \**ayu*, \**egü*, etc.: it is the first vowel of the group which influences the vowel \**i*, whereby the »breaking« takes place before \**ayu* or \**egü* are contracted and become *ū* or *ü* respectively, e.g., Kh. *b̄iārū* 'calf' = Mo. *birayu* id. In other languages the »breaking« took place at a later time, when \**ayu* had already become *ū*. The consequence of this belated »breaking« is that \**i* is assi-

milated to the secondary *ū* < \**ayu* and not to the vowel \**a* of the group \**ayu*, e.g., Al.B *burū* 'calf' = Mo. *birayu* id.

In many cases the vowel \**i* assimilates the vowel of the following syllable or transforms it into a front vowel, particularly into \**e* > *ə*. The consequence of this development was the transfer of the word concerned from the back vocalic series into the series of stems discussed above (A), e.g., Mo. *žida* 'spear' = Kalm. *džidə* < \**žide* (it is to be noted that in consequence of this development no »breaking» has occurred; on the other hand cf. Al.B *žada* < \**žida* 'spear').

In other cases the »breaking» has occurred, but the vowel \**i*, instead of palatalizing the preceding consonant has transformed the whole word concerned into a front vocalic one, e.g., Mo. *birayu* 'calf' = Kalm. *biřū* id.

As stated above the vowel \**i* tends to become *a* before \**a*, or it becomes *u* before \**u*, etc. This does not mean, however, that \**i* always becomes *a* when followed by \**a*. There are many stems in which this development does not take place, and it is impossible to establish definite rules covering all cases. More or less careful examination shows that even in one and the same language \**i* before \**a* becomes *a* in one group of words, while in the same position it remains *i* in another group of words, e.g., Kh. *maxxv* 'meat' = Mo. *miqan* id., but Kh. *miŋgv* or *miŋŋv* 'thousand' (not *maŋgv*) = Mo. *miŋyan* id.

It should be mentioned that the development of the vowel \**i* depends to a great extent upon the nature of the preceding consonant: cf. the different developments of the syllables \**bi-* and \**mi-* in Urdus and Khalkha, when the vowel of the immediately following syllable is \**a*: while \**bi-* remains *bi-* in Urdus and becomes *b'iā-* in Khalkha, the syllable *mi-* becomes in many words *ma-* in both languages, cf. Mo. *bida* 'we' = Urd. *bida* and Kh. *b'iaddv* id., but Mo. *miqan* 'meat' = Urd. *maxxa* and Kh. *maxxv* id.

Considerable irregularities are caused by the initial consonants \**č*, \**ž*, and \**s*. The initial syllables \**či-*, \**ži-*, and \**si-* frequently preserve their original vowel which remains *i*. This occurs usually before long vowels, but sometimes it can be found before short vowels,

e.g., Mo. čilayun 'stone' = Urd. *tšilū* id. (cf. Kh. *tšulū*, Bur. *šulūŋ* id.), Mo. čida- 'to be able' = Urd. *tšida-* id. (cf. Kh. *tšaddv-*, Bur. *šada-* id.). It should be emphasized that the absence of the »breaking» in these positions is not a characteristic feature of a particular Mongolian language, in this instance Urdus, because there are cases in which the Urdus language has the »breaking» when in other languages it is not found, cf. Urd. *tšömögö* 'marrow, bones filled with marrow' = Kalm. *tšimŋŋ*, Mo. čimügen id. (cf. Al.B *səməgəŋ* id. where *ŋ* is a regular development of \**i* in front vocalic words with no »breaking«). On the other hand, in many cases \*č does not result in *tš* (= Bur. *š*) but becomes *ts* (= Bur. *s*), although the vowel immediately following is \**i*. Likewise \*ž results in *dz* (= Bur. and Kalm. *z*), although one would expect here *dž* (= Bur. *ž*, Ekh.B *j*). This occurs mainly in cases in which the vowel \**i* is followed immediately by \**q* or \**y*, and the development \*č > *ts* and \*ž > *dz* may be due to the fact that in the vicinity of these deep velar consonants the vowel \**i* was still a back vowel, i.e. *i*, which did not palatalize the preceding consonant.

In general the following cases have to be examined separately:  
 \**i* before \**a* and the secondary *ā* (1); \**i* before \**u* (2); \**i* before \**ü* (3);  
 \**i* before \**ayu* (4); \**i* before \**egü* (5); \**i* before \**uyu* or \**iyu* (6); \**i*  
 before \**ügü* or \**igü* (7); \**i* before \**uya* (8); \**i* before \**üge* (9); \**i* before  
 a secondary *o* or *ö* (10).

(1) As a general rule the vowel \**i* results in *a* before the vowel \**a*. An initial \**i* results in the syllable *ja* in this position, i.e., the vowel has a prosthetic *j*. In Urdus, Kalmuck, and Monguor the initial consonant is not palatalized in the event of »breaking», i.e., there is no *i*-glide between the initial consonant and the secondary vowel. In Khalkha two developments are found: the initial consonant is connected by an *i*-glide with the secondary vowel *a* < \**i*, or in many stems the glide may not be present, i.e., the initial syllable may be *m'a* or *ma*. In many cases *m'a* and similar initial groups alternate with *mi* in Khalkha, i.e., the vowel *a* may alternate with *i*. In Monguor the initial \**i* remains as such and never becomes *ja-* as in other

languages. In Dagur and Buriat the initial consonant is usually palatalized, e.g. \**mi* > *má* before \**a*.

In summarizing, the following can be stated: in Monguor, Urdus, and Kalmuck the vowel \**i* becomes *a* without palatalization of the preceding consonant; it becomes *a* or *ä* in Khalkha, and in Dagur and Buriat it results in *ä* with the preceding consonant palatalized. The vowel \**i* remains *i* in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and in Mogol (a). The initial \**i* becomes *ja-* in Dagur, Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck, but it remains *i* in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, Monguor, and Mogol (b). There are numerous exceptions and \**i* may become *a* in one language but remains *i* in another one, although in the latter language, under similar conditions, \**i* usually becomes *a*.

(a) Mong. *maχa*, Urd. *maχa*, Kh. *maχχv*, Kalm. *maχn* 'flesh, meat' = Dag. *máya*, Bur. *máyan* id. = Mo. *miqan*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *miqan*, Mog. *miqon* id.

Mong. *narqē* 'young, tender' = Dag. *ńálχa* 'infant', Kh. *n'iálχv* id. = Mo. *nilqa*, Urd. *nilχa*, Kalm. *nilχv* id.

Urd. *šara*, Kh. *šarv*, Bur. *šara*, Kalm. *šar* 'yellow' = Mo. *sira*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *šira*, Mong. *šira*, Mog. *šira* id.

Dag. *b'iáda* 'we', Kh. *b'iáddv* ~ *biddə* id. = Mo. *bida*, Mog. *bida*, Urd. *bida*, Bur. *będī*, Kalm. *bidŋ* id.

Dag. *mánqan*, Kh. *m'iángv* 'thousand' = Mo. *miŋyan*, Mong. *miŋχän*, Urd. *miŋga*, Bur. *miŋqan*, Kalm. *miŋŋn* id.

Kh. *n'iárəē* ~ *narəē* 'infant', AL.B *nárā* id., *nárāla-* ~ *narāla-* 'to bear a child' = Mo. *niraj* 'infant', Urd. *nirā* 'a little child'.

Kh. *džarv* 'sixty', Kh.B *žaraŋ* id. = Mo. *žiran*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *žiran*, Mong. *džiran*, Urd. *džira*, Kalm. *džirŋ* id.

Kh. *džaddv*, AL.B, Kh.B. *žada*, Ekh.B *jada* 'spear' = Mo. *žida*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *žida*, Mong. *džida*, Urd. *džida*, Kalm. *džidə* id.

Urd. *šara-*, Kh. *šarv-*, Bur. *šara-*, Kalm. *šar-* 'to fry' = Mo. *sira-*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *šira-*, Mong. *širā-* id.

Kalm. *malā* ~ *malā* 'lash' = Mo. *milaya*, SH *mina'a*, Dag. *ńinā*, Urd. *milā*, Bur. *minā* id.

Mo. *milijayud* ~ *miliyanjud* 'the celebration of the birth of a child', Al.B *milāngüt* id., *milā-* 'to perform a ceremony, to initiate', Kalm. *milāyūd* 'the celebration of the birth of a son', *milā-* ~ *mile-* 'to initiate, to consecrate, to dedicate', *milālyvn* 'congratulation'.

(b) Urd., Kh. *jamā*, Bur. *jamāñ*, Kalm. *jamān* 'goat' = Mo. *imayān*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ima'an*, Mong. *imā* id.

Kh. *janvök* 'beloved' = Mo. *inay* 'friend', SH *inay*, Mu. *inaq*, Urd. *inak* id., Kalm. *inqig* 'friendship'.

Kh. *jargvē*, Kalm. *jaryā*, Mong. *järgē* 'Cornelian cherry' = Mo. *iryači*, Urd. *irgā* id.

Kh. *jalā* 'fly, gad-fly' = Mo. *ilaya* id., Urd. *ilō* < \**ihuya*, Bur. *jilāhan* 'fly', Kalm. *iləsŋ* ~ *ilāsŋ* id., cf. SH *hilu'atu-* 'to be bitten by flies'; there were two alternating forms of this word: \**hilaya* ~ \**hiluya*.

(2) The vowel \**i* before \**u* develops regularly into *u*, but in the Tsongol dialect of the Buriat language it becomes *o*. This occurs also in the Alar dialect but rarely. In Dagur \**i* results always in *o* in this position, because \**u* before \**u* becomes *o* in Dagur.

The general rule is that \**i* before \**u* becomes *u* in Monguor and Mogol (in both of them rarely), *o* in Dagur, *u* in Urdus, Khalkha and Buriat (except for the Tsongol dialect), *o* in the Tsongol dialect and (sometimes) in Alar, *u* and sometimes *ü* in Kalmuck.

Mo. *nisun* 'snivel', SH *nisun*, Mong. *nusōn*, Urd. *nusu*, Kh. *nussv*, AgaB and Al.B *ńuhāŋ*, Ts.B *ńoso*, Kalm. *nusŋ* id.

Mo. *nilbusun* 'tear', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *nilbusun*, Mong. *numpudzə*, Dag. *ńombos*, Urd. *nulmusu*, Kh. *nulmos*, Kh.B *ńulmahan*, Ts.B *ńolmos*. Al.B *nolmohon*, Mog. *nilbusun*, Kalm. *nulm<sup>u</sup>sŋ* ~ *nülm<sup>u</sup>sŋ* id.

Mo. *śinju-* 'to dive', Mu. *śinqu'ulba* 'he immersed them', Mong. *songorla-* 'to run in a wild manner', Dag. *śongo-* 'to dive', Urd. *śun-gur-* 'to leap', Kh. *śungv-* 'to dive', Kh.B *śunqa-*, Ts.B *śongo-*, Kalm. *śunq<sup>v</sup>-* 'to dive'.

Mo. *ćisun*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ćisun*, Mong. *tsədzu*, Dag. *tšos*, Urd. *džusu*, Kh. *tsussv*, Al.B *śuhan*, Ts.B *tšoso*, Mog. *tšusun*, Kalm. *tsusŋ* 'blood'.

Mo. *siryu-* 'to creep in, to sneak in', Urd. *śurgu-* 'to glide into', Kh. *śurgv-*, Bur. *śurqa-*, Ts.B *śorgo-* 'to sneak in'.

(3) The vowel \**i* before \**ü* results in *ü* or further into *u*. In Dagur \**i* remains as such. Initial \**i* gets a prosthetic *j*.

Mo. *nidün* 'eye', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *nidün*, Mong. *nudu*, Dag. *nide*, Urd. *nuudu*, Kh. *nudda*, Bur. *nüdeŋ*, Mog. *nudun*, Kalm. *nüdŋ* id.

Mo. *sidiün* 'tooth', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *śidiün*, Mong. *śdi*, Dag. *śide*, Urd. *śudu*, Kh. *śudda*, Bur. *śudeŋ*, Mog. *sudun*, Kalm. *śudŋ* id.

Mo. *ničügün* 'naked', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ničügün*, Mong. *ničigōr*, Dag. *ničkō*, Urd. *nulšugün*, Kh. *nutsagan*, Bur. *nusęgen* ~ *nüsęgen*, Kalm. *nütsagŋ* id.

Mo. *žisün* 'color of a horse', MMo. (SH) *žisün* 'color, appearance', Dag. *džus* 'appearance' (< other Mongolian languages), Urd. *džusuu*, Kh. *dzuussa*, AgaB. *žuhęŋ*, Al.B *zuhęŋ*, Kalm. *züsŋ* id.

Mo. *nigül* 'sin', MMo. (IM) *ni'ül*, Dag. *nugul* (< other Mongolian languages), Urd. *nūl*, Kh. *nugal*, Al.B *nugel*, Kalm. *nūl* id.

Mo. *ildü* < \**hildü* < \**qildü* 'sword', MMo. (Mu.) *hildün*, Mong. *urdu* 'sabre', Urd. *wldu*, Kh. *jülda* ~ *julda* ~ *ildə*, AgaB. *jilde*, Kalm. *ilda* ~ *jilda* ~ *üldə* id.

Mo. *jisün* 'nine', SH *jesün*, Mu. *jisün*, Mong. *sdžen*, Dag. *jise*, Urd. *jiusuu*, Kh. *jiussa* ~ *jessə*, Al.B *jihięŋ*, Kh.B *juhęŋ*, Kalm. *jisŋ* ~ *jüsŋ* id.

(4) The vowel \**i* before \**ayu* is preserved as such in Written Oirat, but \**ayu* has become *ou* there. The vowel *o* of the group *ou* < \**ayu* has transformed the vowel \**i* of the first syllable into *o* in Kalmuck. In the remaining Mongolian languages the vowel \**i* has developed, in this position, in the same manner as before \**u* or *ü* < \**uyu*. The initial \**i*, however, results in *jo-* even in Khalkha.

Mo. *čilayun* 'stone', SH *čila'uun*, P *č'ila'un*, Urd. *tšilū*, Kh. *tšulū*, Bur. *šulūŋ*, Oir. *čiloun*, Kalm. *tšolūn* id.

Mo. *sibayun* 'bird', SH *šiba'uun*, Mu. *šiba'un*, Mong. *ʂū* id., Dag. *šowō* 'hunting falcon', Urd. *šiwū*, Kh. *šuvū*, Bur. *šubūŋ*, Oir. *šiboun*, Kalm. *šouūn* id.

Mo. *kirayu* < \**qirayu* 'white frost', Urd. *kirū*, Kh. *χjárū* ~ *χirū*, Kh.B *χirū* ~ *χurū*, Al.B *śirū*, Kalm. *kirū* id.

Mo. *birayu* 'calf', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *bura'u*, Mong. *burū*, Urd. *birū*, Kh. *bíárū*, Al.B *burū*, Kalm. *bürū* id.

Mo. *ižayur* 'origin, root', Mu. *hiža'ur*, Urd. *idžūr*, Kh. *jodzūr*, Kalm. *jozūr* ~ SH, P. *huža'ur*, Mong. *sdzūr*, Dag. *χodžör*, Urd. *udžūr*, Kh. *udzūr*, Bur. *uzūr*, Kalm. *uzūr* 'root, origin'.

Mo. *itayu* 'partridge', Urd. *itū*, Kh. *jotū*, Kalm. *jotūn* id.

(5) The vowel \**i* before \**egü* becomes *ü* or develops further into *uu*. The initial \**i* remains as such.

Mo. *bilegü* 'hone, whetstone', SH *bile'üde-* 'to hone', Mu. *bilü* 'whetstone', Mong. *buliū*, Urd. *bilü*, Kh. *bilü*, Bur. *bułü*, Kalm. *bülü* id.

Mo. *žikegün* 'cool', Urd. *džixūn*, Kh. *džixūn* ~ *džuxūn*, Kalm. *zekün* id.

Mo. *ilegü* 'surplus, exceeding, better', Urd., Kh. *ilü*, Kalm. (rarely) *ilü* id. ~ MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hüle'ü*, Mong. *filiū*, Urd., Bur. *ukü*, Kalm. *ülü* id. Originally two forms existed: \**qilegü* ~ \**qülegü*.

(6) The vowel \**i* before \**uyu* and \**iyu* results in *u*.

Mo. *siluyun* 'direct, frank, sincere, honest', Urd. *šulūn*, Kh. *šulūn*, Kalm. *šulūn* id. On the other hand, the parallel form *šolūn* in Kalmuck may serve as an indication that the ancient form was \**silayun* (vide 4).

Mo. *nilyun* ~ *niliyun* 'disgusting, sickening', Urd. *nulūn*, Kalm. *nilün* id.

Mo. *niruyun* 'back, spine', SH *niru'un*, Mu. *nirūn*, Mong. *nuru* id., Dag. *nirō* 'the ridge of the roof', Urd., Kh. *nurū* 'back, spine', AgAB *nurgaŋ*, Kalm. *nuryŋ* id.

Mo. *žimuyusun* 'buck-thorn' (a plant), Kalm. *džimūsŋ* id.

Mo. *bisiyun* 'quick, intelligent', Mu. *bišün* 'intelligent', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *bušū* 'quick'.

(7) The vowel \**i* before \**ügü* and \**igü* results in *ü* and further in *uu*.

Mo. *siriugün* 'rough', Mu. *širūn*, Mong. *šürün*, Urd. *šuriūn*, Kh., Bur. *šuriūn*, Kalm. *šuriün* id.

Mo. *nidügür* 'pestle', Mong. *nidir*, Urd., Kh. *nudiür*, Bur. *nüdüür*, Kalm. *nüdür* id.

Mo. *žisigü*, Urd., Kh. *džišü* 'oblique', Kalm. *džišü* 'against, opposite'.

(8) The vowel \**i* before the groups \**uya* (> *o*) and \**ya* (> *o*) results in *o*. The initial \**i* results, in this position, in *o* and sometimes lacks the prosthetic *j-* (a). The same development \**i* > *o* occurs sometimes in cases in which the group \**uya* remains as such instead of being contracted (b).

(a) Mo. *žiruya* 'ambler', Mong. *džioro*, Dag. *džirō*, Urd. *džirō*, Kh. *džorō*, Bur. *žorō*, Ekh.B *jorō*, Kalm. *džorā* id.

Mo. *žiluya* 'halter, rein', SH *žilu'a*, Urd. *džilō*, Kh. *džolō*, Bur. *žolō*, Ekh.B *jolō*, Kalm. *džolā* id.

Mo. *siryolžin* < \**siryuyalžin* 'ant', Mong. *šiorguodžin*, Urd. *šurguldži* ~ *šorgoldži*, Kh. *šorgoldži*, Al.B *šorgölzon*, Kalmr. *šoryoldžen* id.

Mo. *žiryuyan* 'six', MMo. (SH, P) *žirqo'an*, Mong. *džirgōn*, Dag. *džirgō*, Al.B *žorgōn*, Ekh.B *jorgōn* id.; cf. Urd. *džurgā*, Kh. *dzurgā*, Kh.B *zurgān*, Kalm. *zuryān* id. (anomalous development).

Mo. *siroj* < \**siruyač* 'dust, earth', SH *širo'ac*, Urd. *šorō* < \**siruya*, Kh. *šor'ē* < \**siroi* < \**siruya*, Bur. *šorō*, Kalm. *šorā* ~ *šorā* id.; cf. Mu. *šira'u* ~ *širū* < \**sirayu*, Mong. *širū* < \**sirayu* id.

Mo. *iruyar* < \**hiruyar* < \**piruyar* 'bottom', SH *hiru'ar* id., Mu. *hiru'äräsa* 'from the bottom', Urd. *irōl* < \**irōr*, Kh. *jorōl*, Bur. *ojōr*, Kalm. *jorāl* id.

Mo. *činua* < \**činβa* 'wolf', SH *činō*, Mu. *činā*, Mog. *tšinō*, Urd. *tšono*, Kh. *tšonv*, Bur. *šono*, Kalm. *tšon'* id.

Mo. *irua* < \**irβa* 'omen', Urd. *joro*, Kh. *jorn*, Bur. *joro*, Kalm. *jorō* id.

(b) Mo. *kituya* < \**qituya* 'knife', SH *kituyač*, Mu. *qituya*, Mong. *čsidoguo*, Kh. *χutvgn*, Al.B *χotogo* id., Mog. *qitqeč* id.; cf. Urd. *utaga*, Kalm. *utχv* id.

Mo. *iduyan* 'a female shaman', Dag. *jadayān* < \**idayan* < \**iduyan* id., Al.B *odogon* id. ~ Mo. *uduyan* id., Urd. *udagan* < \**uduyan* 'midwife', Kh. *uddvgn* 'female shaman', Kalm. *udym* id.

(9) The vowel \**i* before the group \**üge* (> long vowel) results in *ö* and its various equivalents, i.e., *ü* etc., and in languages in which \**ö* and \**ü* have converged the vowel \**i* results in *u*. The initial \**i* results in *jö-* in some languages (Khalkha), but in others it does not

have the prothetic *j-* (Buriat) (a). In many stems \**i* has developed into *ö* (or *ü*) before \**üge* which remains as such instead of being contracted and becoming a long vowel (b).

(a) Mo. čilüge 'space, crack, free time', Urd. *tšölö*, Kh. *tšölö*, Kh.B *suln* 'free time', Kalm. *tšolen* 'crack'.

Mo. kirüge 'saw', SH *kirü'e*, Mu. *kirö*, Mong. *tširū*, Urd. *körö*, Kh. *χörän*, Al.B *sörän*, Kh.B *χurän*, Kalm. *körə* id.

Mo. irügel < \*hirüger < \*pirüger 'benediction, blessing, prayer', MMo. (SH, P) *hirü'er*, Mu. *hirer*, Mong. *šürö-* 'to say blessings', Urd. *örö-* 'to bless, to say a prayer', *örör* 'blessing, prayer' (with no prothetic *j-*), Kh. *jörsl* 'benediction', Ekh.B *örslr*; Kalm. *jörsl* id.

(b) Mo. sibüge 'awl', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *šibüge*, Mong. *subuge*, Urd. *šöwögö*, Kh. *šüwaga*, Al.B *šüvögö*, Kh.B *šubugę*, Kalm. *šöwgö* id.

Mo. čimügen 'marrow, bone containing marrow', Mu. *čimegen* id., Mong. *tšimuge* 'arm', Dag. *sumug* 'bone', Urd. *tšömögö* 'marrow, bone containing marrow', Kh. *tšümaga* id., Bur. *semegən*, Kalm. *tšimqən* id.

(10) The vowel \**i* before a secondary *o* or *ö* becomes *o* and *ö* respectively. In languages in which \**ö* has resulted in another vowel the vowel \**i* acquires the quality of the latter. The origin of the secondary vowels *o* and *ö* is obscure in these cases.

Mo. *siro* 'a pointed stick, a spit', SH *širo*, Urd. *šoro*, Kh. *šorv* 'spit', Bur. *šoro*, Kalm. *šorö* 'a sharp end, point'.

Mo. šonqor 'falcon', SH *šinqor*, Urd. *šonxor*, Kh. *šonxpr*, Bur. *šonxor*, Kalm. *šonxrl* id.

Mo. silü 'soup, bouillon', SH *šülen*, Mu. *šilen*, Urd. *šölö*, Kh. *šülkä*, Al.B *šülyən*, Kh.B *šulən*, Kalm. *šöln* ~ *šüln* id.

Mo. čidkür 'devil', MMo. (H) *čidkör*, Urd. *džödχör*, Kh. *tšödχar*, Kh.B *šudχur*, Kalm. *tšötkər* ~ *tšütkər* id.

Mo. čidiür 'hobble', Mu. čiderlebe 'he hobbled', Mong. *tšüdor*, Urd. *tšödör*, Kh. *tšüddär*, Al.B *šüdər*, Kh.B *šudur*, Kalm. *tšödər* id.

Mo. iskül- 'to kick, to trample', Mong. *sguorda-*, Urd. *öšköl-*, Kh. *řššiglə-*, Al.B *üčül-*, Kalm. *öškl-* 'to kick'.

<sup>\*</sup>*e*

19. The vowel <sup>\*</sup>*e* has developed into various vowels. (A) Usually <sup>\*</sup>*e* is preserved as *e*. The quality of this vowel varies from that of a moderately open front *e*, i.e., *e* (e.g., in Kalmuck) to a back vowel transcribed as *ɛ* (e.g., in Buriat where it is a <sup>high</sup><sub>mid</sub>-out back-wide vowel). The latter may be slightly rounded, i.e., *ɛ̥* (e.g. in Dagur). Thus, the general correspondence is: Mo. *e*, MMo. *e*, Dag. *e*, Urd., Kh., Mog., and Kalm. *e*, Bur. *ɛ*. In Mongolian the uniformity is broken and in monosyllabic stems <sup>\*</sup>*e* has become *a*, *ä*, *iä* (the latter after *dž*), and *e* (a); at the beginning of words *i* (b); in disyllabic and polysyllabic stems after a consonant *ie* (c); the latter rule does not apply to the position after *χ* < <sup>\*</sup>*φ* in which we find *ɛ* < <sup>\*</sup>*e* (when the following syllable contains the vowel <sup>\*</sup>*i*) or *a* (when the following syllable contains the vowel <sup>\*</sup>*e*) (d).

(a) Mo. *en* 'the width of textiles', Urd., Kh., Kalm. *en*, Bur. *ɛn* = Mong. *än* id.

Mo. *ken* 'who', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ken*, Dag. *kɛn*, Urd. *ken*, Kh. *χen*, Bur. *χen*, Mog., Kalm. *ken* = Mong. *kän* id.

Mo. *ger* 'felt tent, house', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ger*, Dag. *geři*, Urd., Kh. *ger*, Bur. *gər*, Mog., Kalm. *ger* = Mong. *ger* id.

Mo. *žes* 'copper', Urd. *džis* (*i* under the influence of *dž*), Kh. *dzes*, Bur. *zəd*, Kalm. *zes* = Mong. *džiäs* id.

(b) Mo. *ele-* 'to be worn out', Urd. *ele-*, Kh. *ellə-*, Bur. *qli-*, Kalm. *el-* = Mong. *iliē-* id.

Mo. *eliye* 'milan, devil', MMo. (H) *hele'e*, Mu. *elē* 'devil', Urd. *elē* 'milan', Kh. *elē* id., Bur. *qle* id., Kalm. *elɛ* 'hawk' = Mong. *iliē* 'an evil spirit'.

Mo. *emegel* 'saddle', SH *eme'el*, Mu. *emēl*, Dag. *emēl*, Urd., Kh. *emēl*, Bur. *qmēl*, Mog. *emōl*, Kalm. *emēl* = Mong. *imier* id.

(c) Mo. *belen* 'ready', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *belen* id., Dag. *bəlke-* 'to prepare', Urd. *belen* 'ready', Kh. *bəllən*, Bur. *bəlen*, Kalm. *bəln* = Mong. *biehän* id.

Mo. *beri* 'the wife of the son, daughter-in-law', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *beri*, Dag. *bəri*, Urd. *bère*, Kh. *bərə*, Bur. *bəri*, Kalm. *berə* id. = Mong. *bieri* 'wife'.

Mo. *dere* 'pillow', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *dere*, Dag. *dərb*, Urd. *dère*, Kh. *dərə*, Kalm. *der* = Mong. *diere* id.

Mo. *nere* 'name', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *nere*, Dag. *nər*, Urd. *nere*, Kh. *nərə*, Bur. *nərq*, Mog. *nerä*, Kalm. *nərə* ~ *nern* = Mong. *niere* id.

(d) Mo. *ekin* < *hekin* < \**qekin* 'head, beginning', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hekin* 'head', Dag. *eki* id., Urd. *eke* 'beginning, origin, head', Kh. *exxi* 'beginning', Kh.B *qxiñ* id., Al.B *qxiñ* 'source, fountain, spring', Mog. *ekin* 'head', Kalm. *ekn* 'beginning, spring' = Mong. *xegi* 'beginning'.

Mo. *ergi-* < \**hergi-* < \**pergi-* 'to turn, to rotate', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hergi-*, Dag. *ergi-*, Urd. *ergi-*, Kh. *èrgi-*, Bur. *erje-*, Kalm. *ergi-* = Mong. *xergi-* id.

Mo. *eligen* < \**heligen* < \**qeligen* or \**qeliken* 'liver', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *heligen*, Dag. *elig*, Urd. *elege*, Kh. *ellag*, Bur. *eleqen*, Mog. *elkän*, Kalm. *elkn* id. = Mong. *xaliege* < \**xeleke* id.

Mo. *erbekej* < \**herbe'ekej* < \**qerbegekej* 'butterfly', MMo. (H, Mu.) *herbägej*, Urd., Kh. *erwəχi*, Bur. *erbəχē*, Kalm. *erweke* id. = Mong. *xaliege* id.

20. (B) The vowel \**e* before \**e* or \**i* becomes *ē*, i.e., a front and narrow (closed) vowel. This occurs in Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Mogol (a).

The vowel *ē* existed already in Middle Mongolian. The hP'ags-pa script has a special letter for this vowel. The vowel *ē* occurs there in many words, e.g., *ēbečin* 'disease', *ēŋk'e* 'peace, quietude', *ērdemt'u* 'virtuous', *ērdinis* 'jewels', *ēse* (a negative), and in a few other stems.

In Khalkha the vowel \**e* becomes *i* (through \**ē*) before the syllable \**či* or \**ži*; in Urdus this vowel results in *i* (through *ē*) after \**č-* and before \**i*. Under the influence of the consonant *j* the vowel \**e* results in *i* in both Khalkha and Kalmuck (b).

(a) Mo. *tenri* 'sky, heaven, deity', SH *teŋri*, Mu. *teŋri*, P *dəŋri* 'god, heaven', Mong. *tiängeri*, Dag. *təŋgir*, Urd. *tenger*, Kh. *təŋgər*, Bur. *təŋri*, Kalm. *teŋgr* id.

Mo. *ede* 'these', SH & Mu. *ede*, P *ēde*, Dag. *ęde*, Urd. *ede*, Kh. *ēddə*, Bur. *ędę*, Kalm. *edŋ* id.

Mo. *ežen* 'master', SH & Mu. *ežen*, P *ēžen* id., Mong. *rdžilię* 'to usurp', Dag. *ędžin* 'master, ruler', Urd. *edžin*, Kh. *ēddzən*, Al.B *ęžen*, Mog. *edžan*, Kalm. *ezŋ* id.

Mo. *ene* 'this', SH & Mu. *ene*, P *ēne*, Mong. *nie*, Dag. *ęn*, Urd. *ene*, Kh. *ēnə*, Bur. *ęnę*, Mog. *enə*, Kalm. *en* id.

Mo. *elči* 'messenger', SH & Mu. *elči*, P *ēlčin* 'messengers', Urd. *eltši* ~ *ēltši*, Kh. *iltši* ~ *ēltši* 'messenger, ambassador', Bur. *elšen*, Kalm. *eltši* 'messenger'.

Mo. *elžigen* 'donkey', SH & Mu. *elžigen*, Mong. *rdžige*, Dag. *ęldžig*, Urd. *eldžige*, Kh. *ildžig* ~ *ēldžig*, Bur. *ęłżęgen*, Mog. *eldžigōn*, Kalm. *eldžynə* id.

Mo. *čerig* 'army', SH & Mu. *čerik*, P *čēríg*, Mong. *tširig*, Urd. *tširik* 'soldier', Kh. *tsérək*, Bur. *sərek*, Kalm. *tserig* id.

(b) Mo. *beje* 'body', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *beje*, Mong. *bije*, Dag. *beje*, Urd. *beje*, Kh. *bijja*, Bur. *beje*, Kalm. *bī* ~ *bija* id.

21. (C) The vowel \**e* becomes a rounded vowel in a few languages. This occurs in the case when the vowel \**e* is followed by \**ü*, especially by the syllable \**bü* or \**mü*. Sometimes it occurs also before *b* followed by another vowel and not necessarily by \**ü*. This phenomenon is characteristic of Modern Mongolian, i.e., Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck. In Middle Mongolian the vowel \**e* is preserved in the positions mentioned above, although in a few stems the vowel \**e* already has become a rounded vowel in Middle Mongolian.

The basic rule is that \**e* in the position indicated above results in the following vowels: Mo. *e*, MMo. *e*, Dag. *ę*, Mog. *e*, Mong. *i* (before \**e*) and *u* (before \**ü*), Urd. *ö*, Kh. *ö*, Al.B (and in all West Buriat dialects) *ü*, AgaB and Kh.B *u*, Kalm. *ö* (a). In various cases \**e* has resulted in a rounded vowel in Middle Mongolian. In these cases it is represented in Dagur and Mogol by *u*; in Urdus *ö* and, before other than labial consonants, *u* (b).

(a) Mo. *ebüsün* 'hay', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ebeśün*, Dag. *ęw̥s*, Mog. *ebasun*, Mong. *wesę*, Urd. *öwösü*, Kh. *vw̥as*, Al.B *iböhüŋ*, Kh.B *ubęhęŋ*, Kalm. *öwsŋ* id.

Mo. *ebüdüğ* 'knee', SH *ebüdüğ*, Mu. *ebüdük* ~ *öbüdük*, Mong. *udig*, Mog. *ündük*, Urd. *öwödök*, Kh. *üwadak*, Al.B *übödök*, Kh.B *ubədək*, Kalm. *öwəg* id.

Mo. *ebedčin* 'disease', *ebed-* 'to be ill', SH *ebečin* ~ *öbečin* 'disease', Dag. *euude-* 'to be ill', Mong. *idi-* id., Mog. *ebatuna* 'is aching', Urd. *öwöd-* 'to be ill', Kh. *üwad-* id., *üwatsin* 'disease', AgaB *əbəşən* 'sickness, disease', Al.B *übüsən* id., Kalm. *öwitsən* id.

(b) Mo. *elgü-* 'to hang', SH *elgü-* 'to fish', Mu. *ölgü-* 'to hang', Urd. *ulgu-*, Kh. *ilga-*, Kh.B *ulqe-*, Kalm. *ölgə-* id.

Mo. *edür* 'day', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *üdür*, Dag. *udur*, Mog. *udur*, Mong. *udur*, Urd. *udur*, Kh. *iddar*, Al.B *üdir*, Kh.B *udər*, Kalm. *ödər* id.

Mo. *ergü-* 'to lift, to raise', SH *ürge'ül-* 'to cause to carry', Mu. *örgü-* 'to lift', Mong. *urgu-* 'to carry on the back' (an obvious contamination with *ügür-* 'to carry on the back'), Urd. *wurgu-* 'to lift', Kh. *ürgə-*, Kh.B *urqe-*, Al.B *ürgü-*, Kalm. *örğə-* id.

Mo. *emkü-* 'to chew, to keep in the mouth', Mong. *χāngu-* < \**hemkü-* 'to put in the mouth', Dag. *umkuu-* 'to chew', Urd. *unχuu-* 'to put in the mouth', Kalm. *ümku-* id.

Mo. *esüg* 'kumyss', SH *esük*, Urd. *usuk* ~ *esuk* id., Kh. *üssak* 'yeast for kumyss'.

Mo. *ebül* 'winter', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *übül*, Mong. *ugur*, Dag. *wgil*, Mog. *wibul* ~ *ebulə*, Urd. *öwöl*, Kh. *üwal*, Al.B *üböl*, Kh.B *wiegel*, Kalm. *öwl* id.

#### \*ö

22. The vowel \*ö remains ö (= French *eu*, German ö) in Urdus, Chakhar, and Kalmuck. It is represented by ü in Khalkha and in West Buriat dialects. The vowel ü is a sound occupying the place between a high-mixed-wide-round and mid-mixed-narrow-round vowel. In East Buriat dialects (Khori, Aga) and in Dagur the vowel \*ö has converged with \*ü and is represented by uu. In Mogol the vowel \*ö has been preserved in a few words, but in others it has resulted in uu, i.e., converged with \*ü.

In Monguor the vowel \*ö has converged with the back vowel \*o and is represented by o, but after \*k and \*g it is uo (a). When followed immediately by r, it is u (b). In a few words it has lost its rounded character and become iä = Dagur e (c).

In Urdus the vowel \*ö remains only in monosyllabic stems, and before \*e in polysyllabic stems (d). It has developed into uu when followed by \*ü (e).

(a) Mo. bödöne < \*bödene 'quail', Urd. bödonö, Kh. bëddana, Kalm. bödn<sup>ö</sup> id. = Mong. bodono id.

Mo. bȫs 'cotton stuff', Dag. būri 'stuff', Urd. bȫs ~ būus, Kh. bë̄s, Al.B bë̄d, Kh.B būud, Kalm. bȫs id. = Mong. bos id.

Mo. ödün < \*hödün < \*gödün 'feather', SH ödün, Mu. hödün id., Dag. udus 'feathers', Urd. uduu, Kh. üdda, Al.B üdñ, Kalm. ödñ id. = Mong. fōdi id.

Mo. söni 'night', SH sūni, Dag. sūni, Mog. sūni, Urd. sönö, Kh. s̄īna, Al.B h̄en̄i, Kh.B hūni, Kalm. sō̄ ~ sō̄n id. = Mong. soni id.

Mo. gölige 'pup', Urd. gölögö, Kh. göllęg, Kalm. gölg<sup>ö</sup> id. = Mong. guorguo id.

Mo. köl 'foot, leg', MMo. (SH, Mu.) köl, Dag. kūli, Urd. köl, Kh. xȫl, Al.B xȫl, Kh.B x̄ul, Mog., Kalm. köl id. = Mong. kuor id.

Mo. kömöri- < \*kömeri- 'to turn over, to be overturned', Urd. kömör-, Kh. xȫmar-, Al.B xȫmör-, Kh.B x̄umer-, Kalm. köm̄r- id. = Mong. kuomori- id.

Mo. kömöske < \*kömeske 'eyebrows', Mu. kömöske, Urd. kömöskö 'eyelashes', Kh. xȫmasxa 'brows', Kalm. köm<sup>ö</sup>skə id. = Mong. kuo-mosguo 'eyelid'.

(b) Mo. mörgü- 'to bow, to make a prostration', SH mürgü-, Dag. murgu-, Urd. murgu-, Kh. mürga-, Al.B mürgö-, Kh.B murgę-, Kalm. mörg<sup>ö</sup>- id. = Mong. murgu- id.

Mo. mören 'river', SH müren id., Mu. mören 'sea', Dag. muur 'river', Urd. mörön, Kh. müran̄, Al.B mörön̄, Kalm. mörg<sup>ö</sup> 'river' = Mong. muron id.

Mo. törö- < \*töre- 'to be born', MMo. (SH, Mu.) töre-, Dag. tuur- id., Urd. törö-, Kh. tür-, Al.B törü- id., Mog. turanā 'he is born', Kalm. tör- 'to be born' = Mong. turo- id.

(c) Mo. *mösün* < \**mölsün* < \**mölisün-* 'ice', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *mölsün*, Mong. *mordzə*, Urd. *mösü* < \**mölisün* id., Kh. *müs* ~ *müssä*, Al.B *mölvöhvəŋ*, Kh.B *mułihəŋ*, Kalm. *mösəŋ* id. = Dag. *mejs* id.

Mo. *möngün* 'silver', SH *müngün*, Urd. *mönkö* ~ *mənguw*, Kh. *müŋga*, Al.B *müngün*, Kalm. *möngrə* id. = Mong. *miängu*, L *menkü*, Shirongol *menkü*, Dag. *mənguw* id.

(d) Mo. *kökö-* < \**köke-* 'to suck', SH *kökö-*, Mu. *köke-*, Mong. *kuguo-* id., Kh. *χöχxa-*, Al.B *χöχv-* id., Mog. *kökāna* 'he sucks', Kalm. *kök<sup>δ</sup>-* 'to suck' = Urd. *göxxö-* id.

Mo. *köke* 'blue', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *köke*, Mong. *kuguo*, Dag. *kuke*, Kh. *χöχxa*, Al.B *χöχv*, Mog. *kukā*, Kalm. *kök<sup>δ</sup>* id. = Urd. *göxxö* id.

Mo. *ölös-* < \**öles-* 'to be hungry', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *öles-*, Mong. *lose-*, Dag. *unsuu-*, Kh. *üllas-*, Al.B *üldv-*, Kh.B *wildə-* id., Mog. *ulásundā* 'he is hungry', Kalm. *öls-* 'to be hungry' = Urd. *ölös-* id.

(e) Mo. *örüm* 'gimlet', Kh. *öram*, Kalm. *örŋ* id. = Urd. *urrum* id.

Mo. *öndür* 'high', SH *ündür*, Kh. *ündar*, Al.B *ündvər*, Kalm. *öndə* id. = Urd. *ündur* id.

### \*ü

23. The vowel \*ü is represented by ü (= French *u*, German *ü*) only in Kalmuck. In Dagur, Mogol, Urdus, Chakhar, Kharchin, Khalkha, and Buriat it is *u*, i.e., the Norwegian *u* in *hus* 'house' (high-mixed-narrow-round). In Monguor it has converged with \*u and usually results in *u* (a). In Dagur it sometimes becomes *e* after labial consonants. The development \*ü > e occurs also in rare cases in Buriat (b). Before \*ije the vowel \*ü sometimes becomes *u<sup>i</sup>* in Mogol (c).

(a) Mo. *üge* 'word', SH, Mu. *üge*, P *üge*, Mong. *uge*, Urd. *uge*, Kh. *ugə*, Kalm. *üg<sup>u</sup>* id.

Mo. *ükü-* 'to die', SH, Mu. *ükü-*, P *ük'ü-*, Mong. *fugu-*, Dag. *uguw-*, Urd. *uχχu-*, Kh. *uχχa-*, Bur. *uχə-* id., Mog. *ukunā* 'he dies', Kalm. *ük<sup>u</sup>-* 'to die'.

Mo. *büri-* 'to cover', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *büri-* id., Mong. *buri-* 'to make a cover of leather for a drum', Urd. *buri-* 'to cover', Kh. *buri-*

to cover, to upholster', Mog. *bıurkwna* 'he covers', Kalm. *bür-* 'to cover'.

Mo. *küčün* 'strength', SH, Mu. *küčün*, P *k'üčün*, Mong. *kudži*, Dag. *kutši*, Urd. *gutši*, Kh. *χutši*, Al.B *χušen*, Kalm. *kütsen* id.

(b) Mo. *büse* 'belt', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *büse*, Mong. *pudzə*, Urd. *buuse*, Kh. *buus*, Kalm. *büs* id. = Dag. *bęsę*, Bur. *bęhę* id.

Mo. *sübe* 'hole in the needle, needle's eye', Urd. *suwe*, Kh. *suwa*, Kalm. *süwə* id. = Al.B *hębę* id.

(c) Mo. *ünijen* 'cow', Mong. *uniē*, Dag. *unē*, Urd., Kh. *unē*, Al.B *unēn* ~ *nēn*, Kh.B *unōn*, Kalm. *ünə* ~ *ünən* id. = Mog. *uına* id.

### Disappearance of Vowels in the Initial Syllable

24. The disappearance of vowels in the first syllable occurs as a rare phenomenon in all Mongolian languages. It takes place mainly in cases in which the following (i.e., the second) syllable is long (A).

Al.B *nē-* 'to laugh' = Mo. *inije-*, Mong. *şenje-* id., Dag. *inęd* 'laughter', Urd. *enē-* ~ *inē-* 'to laugh', Kh. *inē-* id., Mog. *innāna* 'he laughs', Kalm. *inę-* 'to laugh'.

Al.B *nēn* 'cow' = Mo. *ünijen*, Urd., Kh. *unē*, AgaB *unōn* id.

Mong. *sun* 'milk', Kh. *sū*, Mog. *sun* id. = Al.B *uhęn*, Urd. *usuu*, Kalm. *üsən*, Mo. *üsün* ~ *sün* id.

25. In Monguor the vowel of the first syllable disappears more or less regularly (B). This occurs at the beginning of stems (a) and after *\*φ* > *\*h* > *s*, after *\*s*, and after *\*s* > *š* (b).

(a) *\*a-* > Zero:

Mong. *šdžiā-* 'to transport loads on the back of animals' = Mo. *ači-*, Urd. *atši-*, Kh. *atši-*, Al.B *aša-* id.

Mong. *ndaga* 'promise, oath' = Mo. *andayači*, Kh. *andvyrar* id.

Mong. *ndžiäse* 'plough' = Mo. *anžisun*, Urd. *andžasu*, Al.B *anza-*  
*hanj* id.

Mong. *sbę* 'spelt' = Mo. *arbači*, Urd. *arwāči*, Kh. *arwōči*, Kalm. *arwāči* ~ *arwā* 'barley'.

Mong. *saga-* 'to shed' = Mo. *asqa-*, Urd. *asχa-*, Kh. *asχv-*, Bur. *adχa-*, Kalm. *asχv-* id.

Mong. *jäga* 'bowl, cup' = Mo. *ajaya*, Urd. *ajaga*, Kh. *ajjavq*, Kalm. *āyv* id.

\*e > Zero:

Mong. *šdžiū* 'chest, sternum' = Shirongol *išišu*, Mo. *ebčigün*, Urd. *öbtšū*, Kh. *üwtšū*, Al.B *uubsūn* id.

Mong. *šdži-* 'to go' = Mo. *eči-*, Urd., Dag. *itši-* id.

Mong. *dige-* 'to revive' = Mo. *eđege-* 'to recover', Urd. *eđege-*, Kh. *eddəgə-*, Al.B *edđegə-* id.

Mong. *sdimie* 'bread' = Shirongol *itimi*, Mo. *edemeg* id.

Mong. *kadži* 'elder sister' = Mo. *egeči*, Urd. *egetši*, Kh. *egətši*, Bur. *ęgešę* id.

Mong. *rdžige* 'donkey' = Mo. *elžigen*, Urd. *eldžige*, Kh. *ildžig* id.

Mong. *nie* 'this' = Mo. *ene*, Dag. *ęne*, Urd. *ene*, Kh. *ēnə*, Bur. *ęne*, Mog. *ená*, Kalm. *enə* id.

Mong. *ndę* 'here' = Mo. *ende*, Urd. *ende*, Kh. *endə*, Bur. *ęndę*, Kalm. *endə* id.

Mong. *nge* 'skirts' = Mo. *enger*, Urd. *enger* id.

\*i > Zero:

Mong. *re-* 'to come' = Mo. *ire-*, Kh. *irə-*, Al.B *jere-*, Kalm. *ir-* id.

(b) Mong. *saga-* < \**hasay-* < \**qasay-* 'to ask' = Mo. *asay-*, SH *hasay-*, Kh. *asū-* < \**asayu-* id.

Mong. *šdžiē-* < \**hiče-* < \**qiče-* 'to be ashamed' = Mo. *iče-*, SH *hiče-*, Urd. *etši-*, Kh. *itši-*, Bur. *ęšę-* id.

Mong. *sdādže* 'string, rope' = Mo. *utasun*, MMo. (H) *hudasun* < \**qutasun*, Urd. *utasu* 'thread', Kh. *utəs* id., Al.B *utahanq* 'silken thread'.

Mong. *sdargɑ* < \**qtarya* < \**qabtarya* 'a little bag' = Mo. *qabtarya*, Dag. *xartarga*, Urd. *qabtarga*, Kh. *χabtvgv* id.

Mong. *sdjeriē-* 'to be broken' = Mo. *setere-*, Urd. *setere-*, Kh. *sétər-* id.

Mong. *sdier* 'ribbon fixed to the mane of an animal dedicated to a god' = Mo. *seter*, Urd. *seter*, Kh. *sétər*, Bur. *hələr* id.

Mong. *sdoli-* < \**hoytal-* < \**qoytal-* 'to cut' = Mo. *oytal-*, SH *hoytol-*, Urd. *ogtol-*, Kh. *ogtol-*, Al.B *otol-*, Kalm. *otł-* id.

### The Vowels of the Non-Initial Syllables

26. The ancient vowels of the non-initial syllables were well preserved both in Written and Middle Mongolian. The Middle Mongolian vocalism of the non-initial syllables reflects the ancient conditions well.

Mo. *jabu-* 'to go' = MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *jabu-* id.

Mo. *qola* 'far' = MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qola* id.

However, in many stems the vowel \**a* after a syllable with \**o* (or the vowel \**e* after a syllable with \**ö*) was already assimilated to the vowel of the initial syllable in Middle Mongolian and in Classical Written Mongolian:

Mo. *oron* < \**oran* 'place' = SH *oron*, but P and Mu. *oran* id.

Mo. *önöčin* < \**önečin* 'orphan' = SH *önöčit* 'orphans', but Mu. *önečin* 'orphan'.

Other vowels were sometimes also assimilated at an early date.

The original vocalism of the non-initial syllables is well preserved in the following colloquial languages: Mogol, Dagur, and Urdus. In Monguor it has greatly changed, and in Khalkha and Buriat the vowels of the non-initial syllables are articulated indistinctly. There they are represented by reduced vowels. In Oirat dialects and in Kalmuck they have disappeared completely and transferred the function of syllabic elements to the consonants *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *l*, and *r*, transforming them into syllabic consonants *ṁ*, *ń*, *ŋ*, *l̥*, and *r̥*. In other cases they are represented by greatly reduced vowels.

27. Let us examine the vowels of the non-initial syllables.

\**a*

(a) \**a* after \**a*:

Mo. *ala-* 'to kill', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ala-*, Mong. *ala-*, Dag. *ala-* ~ *al-*, Urd. *ala-*, Kh. *allv-*, Bur. *ala-* id., Mog. *olanā* 'he kills', Kalm. *al-* 'to kill'.

Mo. *aman* 'mouth', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *aman*, Mong. *ama*, Dag. *ama*, Urd. *ama*, Kh. *amv*, Bur. *amanj*, Mog. *aman*, Kalm. *amn* id.

## (b) \*a after \*o:

Mo. *boro* < \**bora* 'grey', SH *boro*, Mu. *bora*, Mong. *boro* id., Dag. *bor* in the compound *bortsöxor* 'the grey-mottled' (name of a shamanist spirit), Urd. *boro*, Kh. *borv*, Bur. *boro*, Mog. *borō* < \**borā* < \**bora*, Kalm. *borə* 'grey'.

Mo. *oro-* < \**ora-* 'to enter', SH *oro-*, Mu. *ora-*, Mong. *uro-*, Dag. *wqara-*, Urd. *oro-*, Kh. *or-* ~ *oro-*, Bur. *oro-* id., Mog. *orana* 'he enters', Kalm. *orə-* 'to enter'.

## (c) \*a after \*u:

Mo. *una-* 'to fall', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *una-*, Mong. *una-*, Dag. *wqana-*, Urd. *una-*, Kh. *unv-*, Bur. *una-* id., Mog. *unōnā* 'he falls', Kalm. *un-* 'to fall'.

Mo. *qulayaⱩ* 'thief', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qulayaⱩ*, Mong. *χorguē*, Urd. *xulagā*, Kh. *xulqəē*, Mog. *qulayeⱩ*, Kalm. *xulχā* ~ *xulχā* id.

## (d) \*a after \*i:

Mo. *sira* 'yellow', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *šira*, Mong. *šira*, Urd. *šara*, Kh. *šarw*, Bur. *šara*, Mog. *šira*, Kalm. *šar* id.

Mo. *migan* 'meat, flesh', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *migan*, Mong. *maya*, Dag. *maya*, Urd. *maya*, Kh. *mazχv*, Bur. *mīxan*, Mog. *miqōn*, Kalm. *mayn* id.

## \*u

## (a) \*u after \*a:

Mo. *amur* 'peace, rest', SH *amurli-* 'to be quiet, peaceful', Mu. *amur* 'rest', Mong. *χamura-* 'to rest, to relax', Dag. *amūl* 'prosperity, felicity', Urd. *amur*, Kh. *amr*, Bur. *amar*, Kalm. *amr* 'rest'.

Mo. *aluqa* < \**qaluqa*, IM *haluya*, Urd. *aluχa*, Kh., Kalm. *alχv*, Mog. *aluqa* 'hammer'.

## (b) \*u after \*o:

Mo. *odun* 'star', MMo. (H, Mu.) *hodun*, Shera Yögur *hotun*, Mong. *fōdi*, Dag. *oddo*, Urd. *udu*, Kh. *oddv*, Bur. *odoŋ*, Kalm. *odŋ* id.

Mo. *modun* 'tree, wood', SH *mudun*, Mu. *modun*, Dag. *mōd*, Urd. *muđu*, Kh. *moddv*, Bur. *modon*, Kalm. *modŋ* id.

## (c) \*u after \*u:

Mo. *usun* 'water', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *usun*, Mong. *fudzu*, Dag.

*os* ~ *oso*, Urd. *usu*, Kh. *us* ~ *ussv*, Ts.B *osso*, Al.B, Kh.B *uhanj*,  
Mog. *usun*, Kalm. *usŋ* id.

Mo. *urtu* 'long', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *urtu*, Mong. *fudur*, Dag. *orto*,  
Urd. *urtu*, Kh. *urtv*, Bur. *uta*, Mog. *urtu*, Kalm. *utu* id.

(d) \**u* after \**i*:

Mo. *čisun* 'blood', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *čisun*, Mong. *tsedzu*, Dag.  
*tšos*, Urd. *džusu*, Kh. *tsussv*, Bur. *šuhanj*, Mog. *tšusun*, Kalm. *tsusŋ* id.

Mo. *nidurya* 'fist', Mu. *nudurqa*, Mong. *nudurga*, Urd. *nudurga*,  
Kh. *nuddorgv*, Bur. *nudarga*, Kalm. *nudγv* id.

\**e*

(a) \**e* after \**e*:

Mo. *ene* 'this', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ene*, P *ene*, Mong. *nie*, Dag. *ene*,  
Urd. *ene*, Kh. *enə*, Bur. *enq*, Mog. *enä*, Kalm. *en* id.

Mo. *terme* 'the wooden grate of the walls of a felt tent', MMo.  
(SH) *terme* id., Mong. *termán* 'wall', Kh. *terəm* 'the grate of the wall',  
Bur. *termə*, Kalm. *term* id.

(b) \**e* after \**ö*:

Mo. *ölös-* < \**öles-* 'to be hungry', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *öles-*, Mong.  
*lose-*, Dag. *unsu-*, Urd. *ölös-*, Kh. *ölləs-*, Al.B *öldö-*, Kh.B  
*ulde-* id., Mog. *ulättšanā* 'he is hungry', Kalm. *öls-* 'to become  
hungry'.

Mo. *köke* 'blue', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *köke*, Mong. *kuguo*, Dag. *kuke*,  
Urd. *gōχχö*, Kh. *χüχχa*, Al.B *χüχv*, Kh.B *χuχq*, Mog. *kukä*, Kalm.  
*kök* id.

(c) \**e* after \**ü*:

Mo. *ünegen* 'fox', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hünegen* < \**grünegen*, Mong.  
*funige*, Dag. *unug*, Urd. *unege*, Kh. *unaga*, Al.B *unęgen* id.

Mo. *üre* 'seeds, descent', P *hüre*, Mu. *hüren* 'fruit', Mong. *furiē*  
id., Dag. *ur* 'child, descendant', Urd. *ure*, Kh. *ur*, Bur. *urī*,  
Kalm. *ürŋ* id.

(d) \**e* after \**i*:

Mo. *ire-* 'to come', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *ire-*, Mong. *re-*, Dag. *ir-* ~

*jir-* id., Urd. *ire-*, Kh. *irə-*, Bur. *jérə-* id., Mog. *irānā* 'he comes', Kalm. *ir-* 'to come'.

Mo. *nigen* < \**niken* 'one', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *niken*, P *nik'en*, Mong. *nige*, Dag. *nęke*, Urd. *nege*, Kh. *nęgə*, Bur. *nęgən*, Mog. *nikān*, Kalm. *negn* id.

\*ü

(a) \*ü after \*e:

Mo. *ečüs* 'end', SH *ečultele* 'to the end, until it ends', P *heč'üs* 'end', Urd. *etšus*, Kh. *etsəs*, Kalm. *öts*<sup>5</sup>s id.

Mo. *getül-* 'to cross a river', MMo. (SH) *ketül-* id., Urd. *getul-*, Kh. *getəl-*, Bur. *getəl-* id., Mog. *ketiulunā* 'he crosses a river', Kalm. (rarely) *getl-* 'to cross a river'.

(b) \*ü after \*ö:

Mo. *möngün* 'silver', SH *müngün*, Mong. *miängu*, Dag. *məngu*, Urd. *muñgu*, Kh. *müŋga*, Al.B *mönögöñ*, Kh.B *muñqəñ*, Kalm. *möngn* id.

Mo. *öndür* 'high', SH, P *ündür*, Mu. *höndür* (or *hündür*?), Mong. *ndur*, Dag. *undur*, Urd. *undur*, Kh. *öndər*, Al.B *öndör*, Kh.B *wndər*, Kalm. *öndr* id.

(c) \*ü after \*ü:

Mo. *üsün* 'hair', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hiüsün* < \**φüsün*, Mong. *fudze*, Dag. *usuu*, Dag. Iv. *χuzuu*, Urd. *usuu*, Kh. *ussa*, Kh.B *uhəñ*, Mog. *usun*, Kalm. *üsŋ* id.

Mo. *ükü-* 'to die', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ükü-*, P *ükü-*, Mong. *fugu-*, Dag. *ug-*, Urd. *uχχu-*, Kh. *uχχa-*, Bur. *uχə-* id., Mog. *ukuksōn* 'dead', Kalm. *ükü-* 'to die'.

(d) \*ü after \*i:

Mo. *nidün* 'eye', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *nidün*, Mong. *nudu*, Dag. *nid* ~ *nide*, Urd. *nuduu*, Kh. *nuudda*, Bur. *nüdeñ*, Mog. *nuduu*, Kalm. *nüdŋ* id.

Mo. *ničügün* 'naked', Mu. *ničügün* ~ *nüčügün*, Mong. *ničigōr*, Dag. *ničkō*, Urd. *nuitšugun*, Kh. *nuutsagañ*, Bur. *nusegəñ*, Kalm. *nütsügñ* id.

*\*i*

28. The vowel *\*i* preserves its character after other vowels generally better than any other vowel. Usually it remains as such, no matter what the preceding vowel is. In a few stems, however, it is assimilated to the vowel of the initial syllable.

Mo. *ažirya* 'stallion', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ažirya*, Urd. *adžarga*, Kh. *addzvrgv*, Bur. *azarga*, Kalm. *azγv* id.

Mo. *ežen* < *\*ežin* < *\*edin* 'master', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ežen*, P *ežen*, Dag. *edžin*, Urd. *edžin*, Kh. *éddzən* < *\*ežen* < *\*edin*, Al.B *ęžen*, Mog. *edžän*, Kalm. *ezŋ* id.

Mo. *ečige* 'father', Kh. *etsəgə* < *\*ečege* < *\*ečige*, Bur. *esęgę* id.

As stated above the vowel *\*i* remains as such. In Buriat dialects it always tends to be assimilated. Nevertheless, the preceding consonant is palatalized in Buriat, and the consonants *s* (< *\*š*, *\*č*) and *ž* (< *\*ž*) remain as *š* and *ž* respectively. In Kalmuck *\*i* disappears, as all vowels do.

Mo. *amin* 'life', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *amin*, Mong. *ami*, Dag. *amí*, Urd. *amī*, Kh. *ámῃ*, Bur. *amíŋ*, Kalm. *ämŋ* id.

Mo. *morin* 'horse', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *morin*, Mong. *mori*, Dag. *morí*, Urd. *mori*, Kh. *morῃ*, Bur. *moríŋ*, Kalm. *mörŋ*, Kalm. Buzawa *morn* id.

Mo. *uri-* 'to call, to invite', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *uri-*, Mong. *uri-*, Dag. *ori-*, Urd. *uri-*, Kh. *uri-*, Al.B *uri-* ~ *urá-*, Kalm. *urı-* id.

Mo. *ekin* 'beginning', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hekin*, Mong. *χegi* 'beginning', Dag. *eki* 'head', Dag.IV. *χeki*, Urd. *exxe* 'source', Kh. *éχχı* 'beginning', Al.B *ęšeŋ* 'source, spring', Mog. *ekin* 'head', Kalm. *ekŋ* 'source, spring'.

Mo. *ökin* 'daughter', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ökin* 'daughter, girl', Mong. *fudžün* 'girl', Dag. *wugŋ* 'daughter', Urd. *okin*, Kh. *üχχıŋ* ~ *oxxıŋ* id., Al.B *üsibüt* < *\*ökin köbegüd* 'children', Kalm. *okŋ* 'daughter'.

Mo. *küli-* 'to bind', IM *külibe* 'he bound', Mong. *kuoli-*, Urd. *kuili-*, Kh. *χullı-*, Bur. *χulili* 'to bind', Mog. *kuliná* 'he binds', Kalm. *kül-* 'to bind'.

Mo. *bičig* 'letter, writing', SH, Mu. *bičik*, P *bičig*, Mong. *pudžig*, Urd. *bitšik*, Kh. *bitšik*, Bur. *bęšek*, Mog. *bitšik*, Kalm. *bitšig* id.

29. In Pre-Mongolian there was an alternation of the vowel \*i with \*u and another alternation of the vowel \*i with the vowel \*ii, i.e., \*i ~ \*u and \*i ~ \*ii.

The result of this alternation is that the vowel i of one Mongolian language is replaced by another vowel in another Mongolian language.

Mo. *arasun* < \**arusun* ~ *arisun* < \**arīsun* 'skin, hide', SH *arasun*, Mu. *arasun*, Mong. *arasə*, Dag. *aras* ~ *ars*, Urd. *arusu*, Kh. *ārīs*, Bur. *araħaŋ*, Mog. *arōsun* < \**arasun* < \**arusun*, Kalm. *arsŋ* id.

Mo. *anžasun* < \**anžisun* < \**andisun* 'plough', Mu. *anžasun*, Mong. *ndžiäse*, Urd. *andžasu*, Kh. *andži*, Bur. *anzahaŋ* < \**anžisun* < \**andisun*; cf. Urd. (Wang, Jasag) *āndus*, Kalm. *andpsxv* < \**andasqa* < \**andusqa* id.

Mo. *qaduyur* 'sickel, scythe', Mu. *qadūrtu* 'for the harvest', Mong. *gadir* 'sickle', Urd., Kh. *xadūr* 'sickle, scythe', Kalm. *xadūr* id.; cf. Bur. *xažür* < \**qažiyur* < \**qadīyur* 'scythe'.

Mo. *qondolaj* < \**qondulai* 'hip', Urd. *χondolə*, Kh. *χondolə*, Al.B *χondolə*, Kalm. *χondolə* id.; cf. SH *qonžijasun* < \**qondiyasun* 'posterior', Mong. *quändžiäse* id., Al.B *χonzōhoŋ* < \**qonžiyasun* < \**qondiyasun* 'posterior'.

### Metathesis of Vowels

30. Metathesis is a common phenomenon. A vowel following a group of two consonants may change its place and occupy the place between the consonants concerned. This affects mainly those groups of consonants of which the first is either r, l, m, or s (a).

Metathesis occurs frequently in Khalkha. A particularly frequent phenomenon is the metathesis of the vowel \*i (b).

(a) Mo. *qayalya* 'gate', Urd. *χālga*, Bur. *χālga* id., Kalm. *χālyŋ* 'road' = Kh. *χālɣo* ~ *χālɣo* 'gate'.

Mo. *arya* 'means, list', Urd., Bur. *arga* id. = Kh. *argv* ~ *arvg* id.

Mo. *tamya* 'seal, stamp', Urd., Bur. *tamga*, Kalm. *tamvn* id. = Kh. *tamgv* ~ *tamvg* id.

Mo. *üsüg* 'letter', Kh. *ussak* id. = Dag. *usuuk* 'word' ~ *uskul-* < \**üsügle-* 'to speak'.

Mo. *yaryaqu* (Nom. futuri) 'to take out, to cause to come out', Urd. *gargaxu*, Kh. *gargvχv* id. = Al.B *gargaxa* ~ *garvkkv*, Kalm. *garvkkv* id.

Mo. *ojilyaqu* (Nom. futuri) 'to understand', Kh. *oēlgvχv* id. = Al.B. *ōlvkkv* id.

(b) Mo. *adali* 'similar', Al.B *adali* id. = Kh. *addil* id.

Mo. *qatari-* 'to jump, to trot', Al.B *χatvr-* id. = Kh. *χatyr-* id.

### Paragogic

31. Stems ending in liquid consonants obtain an additional *i* at the end. This occurs in Monguor, Dagur, and Urdus.

Mo. *ger* 'yurt, felt house', Mong., Urd., Kh. *ger*, Bur. *gər*, Kalm. *ger* id. = Dāg. *geři* id.

Mo. *yar* 'hand, arm', Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *gar* id. = Dag. *gari* id.

Mo. *yal* 'fire', Mong. *gar*, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *gal* id. = Dag. *gali* id.

Mo. *ol-* 'to find, to acquire', Dag. *wgal-*, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *ol-* id. = Mong. *ōli-* id.

Mo. *bol-* 'to become', Dag., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *bol-* id. = Mong. *ōli-* id.

Mo. *qomoyol* 'horse dung', SH *qoma'ul*, Urd. *χomōl* ~ *χomōli*, Kh. *χomōl*, Kalm. *χomvyl* id.

Mo. *simuyul* 'gnat', Urd. *šimūl* ~ *šimūli*, Kh. *šumūl*, Kalm. *šumūsn* id.

The appearance of an additional *i* is not a frequent phenomenon. It occurs in Dagur only at the absolute end of words, while in Monguor it occurs also at the end of stems.

### The Long Vowels

32. The long vowels are of two kinds from the point of view of their origin. The general rule in all Mongolian languages is that the

long vowels develop from groups of sounds, namely those consisting of a vowel + a consonant + a vowel (A).

The intervocalic consonant of such a group was either  $*\gamma$  (and in front vocalic stems  $*g$ ) or  $*\beta$  (or  $*w$ ),  $*\eta$ , and  $*m$ . The consonants  $*\gamma$  ( $*g$ ) and  $*\beta$  had converged already in Common Mongolian, whereas the consonants  $*\eta$  and  $*m$  were preserved for quite long a time. There are only a few examples of  $*\eta$  and  $*m$  disappearing in the intervocalic position.

The consonants  $*\gamma$  ( $*g$ ) and  $*\beta$  were represented in Ancient Mongolian only by  $*\gamma$  ( $*g$ ) which sometimes alternated with  $*b$ . This alternation occurred in cases in which the consonant in question had been  $*\beta$  in Pre-Mongolian. The situation in Written Mongolian is the same as in Ancient Mongolian.

In Middle Mongolian  $*\gamma$  and  $*g$  gradually disappeared, whereby identical vowels preceding and following the consonant in question were contracted into one long vowel, e.g.,  $*aya > a'a$  or  $\bar{a}$ . When the vowels were different they remained uncontracted, e.g.,  $*ayu > a'u$ . In most Mongolian languages spoken at the present time the contraction of the vowels into one long vowel takes place also in the latter case, e.g.,  $*ayu >$  Kh.  $\bar{u}$ . Exceptions are the Dagur and Mogol languages in which originally different vowels in certain cases are not contracted.

There are also long vowels which have developed from short vowels (B). Contrary to the long vowels of the first type, these long vowels do not display regularity in all Mongolian languages.

#### (A) The Long Vowels of the First Category

33. Each group will be discussed separately.

##### $*aya$

The group  $*aya$  (<  $*aya$  and  $*a\beta a$ ) has developed into the following sounds:

(a) Mo.  $a\gamma a$ ,

MMo.  $a'a$  or  $\bar{a}$ ,

Dag.  $\bar{a}$ ,

Mong. (usually) *ā*, (after *s*) *uā*, (after *tš*) *iā*, and also *a*,

Mog. *ō* and *ā*,

Urd., Kh., Bur., and Kalm. *ā*.

(b) Before \**i* of the third syllable the group \**aya* constituting the first two syllables of a stem results in Kh. *ai̯e*, Bur., and Kalm. *ā*.

(a) Mo. *saya-* 'to milk a cow' (< \**saya-*, cf. Uig. *say-* id.), MMo. (SH) *sa'a-* ~ (Mu.) *sā-*, Dag. *sā-*, Mong. *suā-*, Urd., Kh., Kalm. *sā-*, Bur. *hā-* id.

Mo. *čayan* < \**čayayan* 'white', MMo. (SH) *čaya'an* ~ (P) *č'aqa'an* ~ (Mu.) *čayān* ~ *čaqān*, Dag. *tšiyān*, Urd. *tšaqān*, Kh. *tsaqān*, Bur. *sagān*, Kalm. *tsayān* id.

Mo. *ulayan* < \**gulayan* < \**gulayan* 'red', MMo. (SH) *hula'an* ~ (Mu.) *hula'an* ~ *hulān*, Dag. *ulān*, Mong. *fulān*; Urd. *ulān*, Kh., Bur. *ulān*, Mog. *ulōn*, Kalm. *ulān* id.

Mo. *qažayar* < \**qažiyar* 'bridle', MMo. (Mu.) *qadār*, Dag. *χadāla*, Mong. *qadar*, Mog. *qadār*, Urd. *χadžār*, Kh. *χadzār*, Bur., Kalm. *χazār* id.

Mo. *qayalya* 'gate' < \**qaβalya* (cf. Turk. *qapıy*), MMo. (SH) *qa'alya* 'door', Dag. *χālyā* 'gate', Dag., Mong. *χā-* 'to close', Urd. *χālqa* 'gate', Kh., Bur. *χālqo* id., Kalm. *χālyo* 'road'.

(b) Mo. *dayari-* 'to pass, to catch at, to offend', Mo. *dabari-* 'to pass' (< \**daβari-*, vgl. Turk. Tatar *jabır-* 'to touch, to hurt'), MMo. (SH) *da'ari-*, Mong., Urd. *dāri-*, Kh. *dāer-*, Bur. *dā'irov-*, Kalm. *dār-* id.

Mo. *tayari-* 'to cut, to strike off', Urd. *tāri-*, Kh. *tačrov-*, Bur. *tā'irov-*, Kalm. *tār-* id.

#### \**ege*

The group \**ege* (< \**ege*, \**eβe*, in rare cases \**eŋe* ~ \**eme*) results in:

Mo. *ege* (~ *ebe*), *eme* (< \**eŋe*),

MMo. *e'e* or *ē*,

Dag. *ē*,

Mong. *iē* (in presently monosyllabic stems and in the non-initial syllables of polysyllabic stems) and *ę*,

Mog. *ē* in the initial syllable and *ō* in the non-initial syllables,

Urd., Kh., Bur. ē,

Kalm. ē in the initial syllable, ε in the non-initial syllables.

Mo. *degere* < \**degere* (cf. Uig. *jäg* 'good') 'above', MMo. (SH, P) *de'ere*, Mu. *dēre*, Dag. *dēr*, Mong. *dērə*, Urd. *dēre*, Kh. *dērə*, Bur. *dērə*, Mog. *dērā*, Kalm. *dērə* id.

Mo. *seger* 'vertebral column', Urd., Kh., Mog., Kalm. *sēr* 'back, spine'.

Mo. *emeget* 'saddle', MMo. (SH) *eme'el* ~ (Mu.) *emēl*, Dag. *emēl*, Mong. *imier*, Urd., Kh. *emēl*, Bur. *qmēl*, Mog. *emōl*, Kalm. *emēl* id.

Mo. *degel* ~ *debel* (< \**deþel*) 'coat, fur coat', MMo. (SH) *de'el* ~ (Mu.) *dēl*, Mong. *diēr*, Urd., Kh. *dēl*, Bur. *dēgel*, Kalm. *dewl* id.

Mo. *degesün* 'rope, string', MMo. (Mu.) *dēsün*, Dag. *dēs*, Mong. *diēsə*, Urd. *dēsu*, Kh. *dēs*, Bur. *dēhən*, Kalm. *dēsŋ* id.

Mo. *geme-* ~ *keme-* < \**genje-* (cf. Turk. *käňäš* 'advice') 'to speak, to say', MMo. (SH) *ke'e-* ~ (P) *k'e'e-*, Mong. *gi-*, Urd., Kh. *ge-* id., Mog. *genä* 'he speaks', Kalm. *ge-* 'to speak'.

Mo. *kegere* 'bay horse', MMo. (Mu.) *keher*, Urd. *kēre*, Kh. *χēr*, Al.B *χejer* < \**kegir* id.

### \*igi

The group \**igi* < \**iŋi* and \**igi* results in:

Mo. *igi*,

MMo. ī,

Mong. *i*,

Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. ī.

Mo. *čigiray* < \**čiŋiray* < \**tīŋiray* 'massive', Mong. *tśirag* 'not loosing', Urd. *tśirak*, Kh. *tśirək*, Kalm. *tśirəg* 'solid'.

Mo. *čiqiqan* < \**čiŋiqan* 'furuncle', MMo. (IM) *čiyan*, Al.B *ši-* *χan* id.

Mo. *čigig* < \**čiŋig* 'dampness, moisture', Urd., Kh. *tśig*, Bur. *šig*, Kalm. *tśig* id.

### \*uyu

The group \**uyu* results in:

Mo. *uyu*,

MMo. *u'u* or *ū*,  
 Dag. *ō*,  
 Mong. *u* and *ū*,  
 Urd., Kh., Bur., Mog., Kalm. *ū*.  
 Mo. *bu'rura* 'the male of a camel', MMo. (SH) *bu'ura*, Urd. *būra*,  
 Kh. *būrv*, Kalm. *būrū* id.  
 Mo. *bu'yudai* 'wheat', MMo. (Mu.) *bu'ydač* (< Turkic), Mong. *būdi*  
 Urd. *būdā* ~ *būdā*, Kh. *būdəč*, Bur. *būdā*, Kalm. *būdā* 'grain'.  
 Mo. *buruyu* 'wrong', MMo. (SH) *buru'u* 'mistake' ~ (Mu.) *burū*,  
 Dag. *borō* 'incorrect', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *burū* id.  
 Mo. *ururay* 'the first milk of a cow', Mong. *urag*, Urd. *ūrak*, Kh.  
*ūrvak*, Bur. *ūrak*, Kalm. *ūrvag* id.

#### \*ügū

The groups \*ügū and \*ümü < \*üβü result in:  
 Mo. ügū < \*ügū and ümü < \*üβü,  
 MMo. ü'ü and ü,  
 Dag., Mog., Urd., Kh., Bur. ü,  
 Mong. ü (and iü), i (in the non-initial syllables),  
 Kalm. ü.  
 Mo. *tügükeč* 'raw, uncooked', MMo. (IM) *tükeč*, Mong. *tügu*, Urd.  
*tüχi*, Kh. *tüχi*, Bur. *tüχeč*, Kalm. *tükə* id.  
 Mo. *küžügün* 'neck', MMo. (Mu.) *küžü'ün* ~ *küžün*, Dag. *kuudžū*,  
 Mong. *gudži*, Urd. *kuudžū*, Kh. *χudžū*, Bur. *χuzūn*, Mog. *kuudžün*,  
 Kalm. *küzün* id.  
 Mo. *büdügün* 'thick', MMo. (Mu.) *bidün*, Mong. *budün*, Urd. *buudün*,  
 Kh., Bur. *buudūn*, Mog. *bejdün*, Kalm. *bödün* ~ *büdün* id.  
 Mo. *kümün* < \*küβün 'person, man, human being', MMo. (SH)  
*gü'ün* ~ (P) *k'ü'ün* ~ (Mu.) *kü'ün*, Dag. *kü* ~ *küŋ*, Mong. *kun*,  
 Urd. *kun*, Kh., Bur. *χuŋ* (oblique cases *χūn-*), Kalm. *kün*  
 ~ *kümp* id.

34. The following groups contain different vowels. First we shall discuss such groups which consist of the vowel \*i + γ (g) + a vowel other than \*i.

*\*iγa*

The group *\*iγa* < *\*iγa* and *\*iβa* results in different sounds, depending upon whether the vowel *\*i* constitutes the initial (and *a* the second) syllable or the second syllable (the vowel *\*a* thus forming the third syllable).

(A) In the first case, i.e., with the vowel *\*i* constituting the initial syllable, the group *\*iγa* results in:

Mo. *iγa*,  
 MMo. *i'ā* or *ā*,  
 Dag. *ā*,  
 Mong. *iā*,  
 Urd., Kh. *ā* with no palatalization of the preceding consonant,  
 Bur. *ā* with palatalization of the preceding consonant,  
 Mog. *iō*,  
 Kalm. *ā* without palatalization of the preceding consonant.

(B) In the latter case, i.e., when the vowel *\*i* constitutes the second syllable, the group *\*iγa* results in:

Mo. *iγa*,  
 MMo. *iγa*, sometimes *ā*,  
 Dag. *ē* with the preceding consonant palatalized,  
 Mong. *iā*,  
 Urd., Kh. *iā*, sometimes *ā*,  
 Bur. *ā* with the preceding consonant palatalized,  
 Mog. *ā*,  
 Kalm. *ā* or *ā* with the preceding consonant palatalized.

(A) Mo. *nīγa-* < *\*nīβa-* 'to glue, to paste' (cf. Turk. *japiš-* 'to stick at'), MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ni'a-*, Mong. *niā-*, Urd., Kh. *nā-*, Bur. *nā-*, Mog. *nioldu-*, Kalm. *nā-* 'to stick at'.

Mo. *žīγa-* 'to demonstrate, to instruct', MMo. (SH) *žī'a-* ~ (Mu.) *žā-*, Dag. *džā-*, Mong. *džiā-*, Urd. *džā-*, Kh. *džā-*, Bur., Kalm. *zā-* id.

(B) Mo. *ačījan* < *\*ačīyan* 'load', MMo. (SH) *ačī'an* ~ (Mu.) *ačān*, Mong. *śdžiā-* 'to load', Urd., Kh. *atšā* 'load', Bur. *ašāŋ* 'load'.

Mo. *alija* < *\*aliya* 'frolicsome, playful', Urd., Kh. *al'iā*, Bur. *alā*, Kalm. *alān* ~ *älān* id.

Mo. *qarijatu* 'subject', MMo. (SH) *qarijatan* 'the subjects' ~ (P) *qarijat'an* 'subject, dependent on', Dag. *χařēt* ~ *χařāt* 'subject', Urd. *χarijātu* 'the immediate superior', Kh. *χarijātv* 'subject', Bur. *χařāta* id.

Mo. *qurijsa-* 'to collect, to gather', MMo. (SH) *qurijsa-* ~ (Mu.) *quri'a-*, Dag. *χorē-*, Mong. *χurā-*, Urd., Kh. *χurā-*, Kalm. *χurā-* id.

Mo. *qanija-* 'to cough', Dag. *χanēdu-*, Mong. *χanā-*, Urd. *χanā-*, Kh. *χan'iā-*, Bur. *χanā-*, Kalm. *χanā-* ~ *χanā-* id.

#### \*ige

The group \*ige results in the following sounds:

(A) When \*i belongs to the initial syllable:

Mo. *ige*,

MMo. *i'e* or *ē*,

Dag. *ē*,

Mong. *ē*, but after *dž* it is *iē*,

Urd., Kh. *ē*,

Bur. *ē*,

Mog. *e̯i*,

Kalm. *ē*,

(B) When \*i belongs to a non-initial syllable:

Mo. *ijs*,

MMo. *i'e* or *ē*,

Dag. *ē* with the preceding consonant

palatalized,

Mong. *ē*,

Urd., Kh. *ē*,

Bur. *ē* with the preceding consonant

palatalized,

Mog. *a* (*ā*) with the vowel of the preceding syllable becoming a diphthong with *i*,

Kalm. *ɛ*.

(A) Mo. *sige-* 'to urinate', MMo. (SH) *ši'e-* id. ~ (Mu.) *šēbe* 'he urinated' ~ (IM) *ši'esūn* 'urine', Mong. *šē-* 'to urinate', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *šē-* id., Mog. *sejsuun* 'urine'.

Mo. *žige* 'grandchild, son or daughter of the daughter', Dag. *džē* 'nephew', Mong. *džiē* 'the child of the daughter or of the sister', Urd. *džē*, Kh. *dzē*, Bur., Kalm. *zē* id.

(B) Mo. *erijen* 'motley, dappled', Urd. *erēn*, Kh. *erēñ*, Bur. *erēñ*, Kalm. *erēn* id.

Mo. *kerije* 'crow', MMo. (SH) *keri'e* ~ *kere'e* ~ (Mu.) *keri'e*,  
Mong. *keriē*, Urd. *kerē*, Kh. *χérē*, Bur. *χerē*, Kalm. *kerē* id.

Mo. *ünijen* 'cow', MMo. (SH) *üni'en* ~ *ünijen* ~ (Mu.) *ünejen*,  
Dag. *uńē*, Mong. *uniē*, Urd., Kh. *uńē*, Al.B *uńēñ* ~ *nēñ*, AgaB  
*uńēñ* ~ *uńōñ*, Mog. *uńnā*, Kalm. *ünēn* id.

### \*iγu

The group \*iγu results in the following sounds:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| (A) When *i belongs to the initial syllable: | (B) When *i belongs to the second syllable: |
|--|---|

Mo. <i>iγu</i> ,	Mo. <i>iγu</i> ,
MMo. <i>i'ū</i> ,	MMo. <i>i'ū</i> or <i>iγu</i> ; <i>ū</i> after <i>ž</i> , <i>č</i> or <i>š</i> ,
Dag. <i>ō</i> ,	Dag. <i>ū</i> ,
Mong. <i>iū</i> ,	Mong. <i>i</i> ,
Urd. <i>ū</i> ,	Urd. <i>ū</i> , <i>iū</i> ,
Kh. <i>ū</i> , rarely <i>ū</i> ,	Kh. <i>ū</i> and sometimes <i>iū</i> ,
Bur. <i>ū</i> with the preceding consonant palatalized,	Bur. <i>ū</i> with the preceding consonant palatalized,
Mog. <i>ū</i> ,	Mog. <i>ū</i> ,
Kalm. <i>ū</i> , sometimes <i>ū</i> ,	Kalm. <i>ū</i> .

(A) Mo. *niyur* 'face', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ni'ur*, Mong. *niūr*, Urd.,  
Kh. *nuūr*, Bur. *nuūr*, Mog. *nuūr*, Kalm. *nuūr* id.

Mo. *niyū-* 'to hide', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ni'u-*, Mong. *niū-*, Urd.,  
Kh. *nu-*, Bur. *nu-*, Kalm. *nu-* id.

Mo. *niyun* 'son, boy', MMo. (SH) *no'un*, Dag. *nōñ* id.

(B) Mo. *qariyu* 'answer, return', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qari'u*, Dag.  
*χarū*, Mong. *χari*, Urd. *χarū*, Kh. *χarīū*, Bur. *χarū*, Kalm. *χarīū* id.

Mo. *qalıyrın* 'otter; dark coat of a horse', MMo. (SH) *qalı'un* 'a brown horse' ~ (Mu.) *qali'un* 'beaver', Urd. *χalıūn* 'coat of a horse',  
Kh. *χalıūñ* id., Bur. *χalıūñ* 'otter', Kalm. *χälüñ* 'otter, dark color of a horse'.

### \*igü

The group \*igü results in:

Mo. *igü*,

MMo. *i'ü*,  
 Dag. *ū*,  
 Mong. *i*, *ū*,  
 Urd., Kh. *ū*,  
 Bur. *ū* with the preceding consonant palatalized,  
 Kalm. *ū*.

Mo. *serigün* 'cool, fresh', MMo. (SH) *seri'üt-* 'to cool off, to become cool' ~ (Mu.) *seri'ün* ~ *serün*, Dag. *serūn*, Mong. *sarin*, Urd. *serūn*, Kh. *serūn*, Bur. *heřūn*, Kalm. *serūn* 'cool'.

Mo. *terigün* 'head, beginning, first, initial', MMo. (SH) *teri'ün* ~ (IM) *terün* id., Dag. *turūn* 'beginning', Mong. *turu* 'head', Urd., Kh. *turu* 'head', Bur. *turiün* 'initial', Kalm. *türün* 'beginning'.

35. In this section the groups \**ayu*, \**aβ*, \**egü*, and \**eβ* will be discussed. The developments of these groups display a great variety.

#### \**ayu*

Mo. *ayu*,  
 MMo. *a'u*,  
 Dag. *au* in originally disyllabic stems with the second syllable closed and also in trisyllabic stems (a);  
*ō* or *ū* when \**a* of the group \**ayu* belongs to a non-initial syllable (b);  
*ō* in originally disyllabic stems with the second syllable open(c),  
 Mong. *ū*, rarely *u*; in the non-initial syllables *o* (before *η* it is *ō*),  
 Urd., Kh., Bur. *ū*,  
 Mog. *ōu* ~ *ū*,  
 Kalm. *ū* through \**ou* (the vowel \**o* of the intermediate group \**ou* has transformed the vowel \**i* of the initial syllable into *o*).  
 (a) Mo. *ayur* 'anger', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *a'ur*, Dag. *aur*, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur. *ūr*, Kalm. *ūr* id.

Mo. *ayuski* 'lungs', MMo. (SH) *a'ušigi* ~ (Mu.) *a'uški*, Dag. *aški*, Urd. *ūški*, Kh. *ūški* ~ *ūšig*, Bur. *ūšxa*, Kalm. *ōškv* (an anomalous development) 'lungs'.

(b) Mo. *sibayun* 'bird', MMo. (SH) *šibao'un* ~ (Mu.) *šiba'un* id.,

Dag. *šowō* 'a bird of prey trained to catch birds', Mong. *sū*, Urd. *šiuvū*, Kh. *šiuvū*, Bur. *šubūn*, Oir. *šiboun*, Kalm. *šowūn* 'bird'.

Mo. *čilayun* 'stone, rock', MMo. (SH) *čilao'un* ~ (P) *čila'un*, Dag. *tšolō*, Urd. *tšilū*, Kh. *tšulū*, Bur. *šulūn*, Oir. *čiloun*, Kalm. *tšolūn* id.

Mo. *qatayu* 'hard', MMo. (Mu.) *qata'u*, Dag. *χatō*, Mong. *χadōn*, Urd. *qatū*, Kh., Bur., Kalm. *χatū* id.

Mo. *qalayun* 'hot', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qala'un*, Dag. *χalōn*, Mong. *χalōn*, Urd. *χalūn*, Kh., Bur. *χalūn*, Mog. *qaloun* ~ *qalūn*, Kalm. *χalūn* id.

(c) Mo. *sayu-* 'to sit', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *sa'u-*, Dag. *sō-*, Mong., Urd., Kh. *sū-*, Bur. *hū-* id., Mog. *söwnā* 'he sits', Kalm. *sū-* 'to sit'.

Mo. *dayuda-* 'to call', MMo. (SH) *da'o'un* 'voice' ~ (Mu.) *da'un* id., Dag. *dō* 'voice', *dōd-* 'to call', Mong., Urd., Kh. *dū* 'voice', Bur. *dūn*, Mog. *dōun*, Kalm. *dūn* 'voice'.

#### *\*aβ*

The group *\*aβ* results in the following sounds:

Mo., MMo., Dag. *au*,

Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *ū*,

Mog. *öu*.

Mo. *taulai* < *\*taflai* (cf. Turk. *tabišqan*, *taušan* 'hare') 'hare', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ta'ulai*, Dag. *taulē*, Mong. *tūlī*, Urd. *tūlā*, Kh. *tūlōē*, Bur. *tūlā*, Kalm. *tūlā* ~ *tūlā* id.

Mo. *aügen* 'the elder son', Urd. *ūgan*, Kh. *ūgən*, Bur. *ūgan*, Kalm. *ūγən* id.

#### *\*egü*

The group *\*egü* results in the following sounds:

Mo. *egü*,

MMo. *e'ü*,

Dag. *ęü* when *\*g* follows the vowel *\*e* of the first syllable (a),

*ü* when the vowel *\*e* belongs to a non-initial syllable (b),

Mong. *ū*, after *d* it is *iū*,

Urd., Kh., Bur. *ū*,

Mog. *öu*,

Kalm. *ū*.

(a) Mo. *degüü* 'the younger brother', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *de'ü* ~ (Mu.) *dü*, Dag. *deü*, Mong. *diū*, Urd., Kh., Bur. *dū*, Mog. *döün*, Kalm. *dü* id.

Mo. *negü-* 'to move to another place, to migrate', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ne'ü-*, Urd., Kh., Bur. *nū-*, Mog. *nöu-*, Kalm. *nü-* id.

Mo. *gégüü* 'mare', MMo. (SH) *ge'ün* id. ~ (Mu.) *gü'ündü* 'to the mare', Dag. *geü* 'mare', Mong. *gu*, Urd., Kh. *gu*, Bur. *guη*, Kalm. *guñ* id.

(b) Mo. *kečegü* 'difficult, dangerous', MMo. (SH) *keče'ün* ~ (Mu.) *kečü*, Dag. *ketşü*, Urd. *getşü*, Kh. *χetsü*, Bur. *χesü*, Kalm. *ketsü* id.

### \**eβ*

The group \**eβ* results in:

Mo. *eü*,

MMo. *e'ü*,

Dag. *eü*,

Mong. *ū*,

Urd., Kh., Bur. *ū*,

Mog. *öu*,

Kalm. *ū*.

Mo. *keü* 'son', *keükən* 'child, girl', MMo. (SH) *kö'ün* 'son' ~ (P) *k'e'ün* ~ (Mu.) *kün* id. ~ (Mu.) *ke'üt* 'sons' ~ (SH) *kö'iiken* 'child' ~ (Mu.) *kükən* id., Dag. *keükə* 'son, child', Mong. *kü* 'son, boy', Urd. *kü*, Kh. *χü* 'son, boy', Bur. *χüχen* 'girl', Mog. *köün* 'son, child', Mog. *köükət* 'children', Kalm. *kükə* 'girl'.

Mo. *teüke* 'story', Urd. *tüχe* 'historic book', Kh., Bur. *tüχə* 'history', Kalm. *tükü* id.

36. The groups \**oya*, \**oβ*, \**uya*; \**βa*, \**uβa*, \**öge*, and \**üge* display a great variety of developments.

\*oya

This group results in:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (A) in cases in which it is not followed by the vowel *i:   | (B) in cases in which it is followed by the vowel *i:   |
| Mo. <i>oya</i> ,  | Mo. <i>oya</i> or <i>oyo</i> ,  |
| MMo. <i>o'a</i> ~ <i>o'o</i> ,  | MMo. <i>o'o</i> or <i>ō</i> ,   |
| Dag. <i>ō</i> in monosyllabic stems,<br><i>ga</i> in disyllabic and poly-<br>syllabic stems,  | Dag. <i>ō</i> ,   |
| Mog. <i>oa</i> ,  |   |
| Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. <i>ō</i> .   | Urd. <i>ō</i> , Kh. <i>ōę</i> , Bur. and Kalm. <i>ō</i> .   |
| (A) Mo. <i>toya</i> 'number', MMo. (SH) <i>to'a</i> ~ (SH) <i>to'o</i> ~ (Mu.)<br><i>to'an</i> ~ (Mu.) <i>tōn</i> , Dag. <i>tō</i> , Mog. <i>toa</i> , Mong. <i>tōr</i> , Urd., Kh., Bur.,<br>Kalm. <i>tō</i> id. | (B) Mo. <i>toyala-</i> 'to count', Dag. <i>tgala-</i> id., Mog. <i>toalana</i> 'he counts'.<br>Mo. <i>toyori-</i> < * <i>toyari-</i> 'to turn', MMo. (SH) <i>to'ori-</i> 'to turn,<br>to go around' ~ (Mu.) <i>tōriba</i> 'he turned around', Dag. <i>tōri-</i> 'to go<br>on a walk', Urd. <i>tōri-</i> , Kh. <i>tōérp-</i> , Bur. <i>tō'i'r-</i> , Kalm. <i>tōr-</i> 'to go around'. |

\*<sup>08</sup>

This group occurs rarely. It results in:

- Mo. *ou*,  
 Dag. *ō*,  
 Kh., Bur. *ū*,  
 Kalm. *ō*.  
 Mo. *qou* 'all' (cf. Turk. *qop* 'many'), Dag. *χō*, Kh., Bur. *χū*, Kalm.  
*χō* id.

\*uva

The group *\*uya* results (through an intermediate *\*oya*) in different sounds, which depend upon whether *\*u* belongs to the initial syllable (A) or to a non-initial syllable (B).

- (A) Mo. *oyo*, (B) Mo. *uya*,  
 $\text{MMo. } u'a \sim o'a \geq o'o.$  MMo. *o'a*.

Dag. ō,	Dag. ō,
Mog. ua,	Mog. ō,
Mong. ō,	Mong. ō or o,
Urd., Kh., Bur. ō,	Urd., Kh., Bur. ō,
Kalm. ō,	Kalm. ā with the vowel *i of the initial syllable developing into o under the influence of the vowel *o of the intermediate group *oya.

(A) Mo. *qoyosun* < \*quyasun 'empty, dry', MMo. (SH) *qo'osun* ~ (Mu.) *qu'asun* (or *qo'asun?*) id., Mog. *quana* 'he dries', Mong. *χōdzen* 'empty', Urd. *χōson*, Kh. *χōsvn*, Bur. *χōhoṇ*, Kalm. *χōsṇ* 'empty'.

(B) Mo. *žiruya* 'ambler', Dag. *džirō*, Mog. *džirō*, Mong. *džiorō*, Urd. *džirō*, Kh. *džorō*, Al.B *žorō*, Ekh.B *jorō*, Kalm. *džorā* id.

Mo. *žiryuyan* 'six', MMo. (SH) *žiryo'an* ~ (P) *žirqo'an* ~ (Mu.) *žiryo'an* (or *žiryu'an?*), Dag. *džirgōṇ*, Mong. *džirgōṇ*, Al.B *žorgōṇ*, Ekh.B *jorgōṇ* (cf. Urd. *džurgā*, Kh. *dzurqā*, Kh.B *zurgāṇ*, Kalm. *zuryāṇ* id. which are anomalous forms).

### \*βa

This group has resulted in:

Mo. <i>ua</i> ,
MMo. o (~ ā),
Dag. ō,
Mog. ō,
Mong (?)
Urd. o,
Kh. v,
Bur. o,
Kalm. o.

Mo. *činua* < \*tīnβa 'wolf', MMo. (SH) *čino* ~ (Mu.) *činā*, Mog. *tšinō*, Urd. *tšono*, Kh. *tšonv*, Bur. *šono*, Kalm. *tšonō* id.

Mo. *irua* < \*irβa 'omen', Dag. *irō* 'blessing, benediction', Urd. *joro*, Kh. *jorn*, Bur. *joro*, Kalm. *jorō* 'omen'.

*\*uβa*

This group has developed, through the intermediate stage *\*oβa*, into the following sounds:

Mo. *uua* (= *uua*) ~ *oo*,

MMo. *o'a*,

Urd., Kh., Bur. *ð*,

Kalm. *ð* (only in the initial syllable).

Mo. *čooqur* < *\*čuqaqur* < *\*čuβaqur* 'speckled' (cf. Turk. *čubar*),

Dag. *tšōχor*, Urd. *tšōχor*, Kh. *tsōχor*, Bur. *sōχor*, Kalm. *tsōχr* id.

Mo. *quua* 'yellowish' (a horse color), MMo. (SH) *qo'ayčin* (fem.) 'grey, whitish', Urd. *χō* 'bright yellow', Kh. *uχā* < *\*χua* (metathesis), AgaB *χuā*, Kalm. *χō* 'fair yellow'.

Mo. *yuua* 'beautiful, pretty', MMo. (SH) *yo'a*, Dag. *goji* < Kh., Urd. *gō* ~ *gōn* id., Kalm. *gō* 'straight'; Kh. *gojjn* < *\*yoβi*, Bur. *gojo* id.

*\*öge*

The group *\*öge* (< *\*öge* and *\*öβe*) results in:

Mo. *öge*,

MMo. *ö'e*,

Dag. *ñ*,

Mog. *öā*,

Mong. *ð*,

Urd. *ð*,

Kh., Bur. *ñ*,

Kalm. *ð*.

Mo. *bögere* < *\*böβere* (cf. Turk. *böbräk* etc.) 'kidney', MMo. (SH, IM) *bö'ere*, Dag. *bñr*, Mog. *böärä*, Mong. *bōro*, Urd. *bōrō*, Kh. *bñr*, Bur. *bñra*, Kalm. *bōr<sup>ð</sup>* id.

Mo. *ögede* 'upwards' (cf. Mo. *ögse-* 'to go upstream'), MMo. (SH) *ö'ede* 'upstream', Mog. *öäda* 'upwards', Urd. *ödō*, Kh., Bur. *ñda*, Kalm. *öd<sup>ð</sup>* id.

*\*üge*

The group *\*üge*, depending upon whether the vowel *\*ü* belonged to the initial syllable (A) or to the second syllable (B), results, through the intermediate stage *\*öge*, in the following sounds:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (A) The vowel <i>*ü</i> belonged to the initial syllable: | (B) The vowel <i>*ü</i> belonged to a non-initial syllable: |
|---|---|

Mo. <i>öge</i> ,	Mo. <i>üge</i> ,
MMo. <i>ö'e</i> ,	MMo. <i>ü'e</i> ~ <i>ö'e</i> ,
Dag. <i>ñ</i> ,	Dag. <i>ñ</i> ~ <i>ę</i> ,
Mong. <i>ö</i> ,	Mong. <i>ö</i> ,
Urd. <i>ö</i> ,	Urd. <i>ö</i> ,
Kh., Bur. <i>ñ</i> ,	Kh., Bur. <i>ñ</i> ,
Kalm. <i>đ</i> ,	Kalm. <i>ɛ</i> with the vowel <i>*i</i> of the initial syllable becoming <i>ö</i> under the influence of the intermediate <i>*öge</i> .

(A) Mo. *böge* < *\*büge* 'shaman' (cf. Turk. *bügü* 'wise'), MMo. (SH) *bö'e*, Mong. *bō*, Urd. *bō*, Kh., Bur. *bñ*, Kalm. *bō* id.

Mo. *žöge-* < *\*žüge-* 'to transport' (cf. Turk. *jük* 'load'), MMo. (SH) *žö'e-* ~ (Mu.) *žöbe* 'he transported', Mong. *džiō-* 'to transfer', Urd. *džō-*, Kh. *džñ-*, Bur. *zñ-*, Kalm. *zō-* id.

(B) Mo. *edüge* 'now, presently', MMo. (SH) *edö'e* (the intermediate stage *\*ö'e*) ~ (P) *édü'e*, Dag. *edę* id.

Mo. *irügel* < *\*hirüger* < *\*girüger* 'benediction', MMo. (SH, P) *hirü'er* ~ (Mu.) *hirér* id., Mong. *sürö-* 'to say benedictions, to pray', Urd. *örö-* id., *örö'l* 'benediction', Kh. *jörñ'l*, Ekh.B *ırñr*, Kalm. *jörtl* id.

Mo. *čilüge* 'free space, free time, leisure, freedom', Urd. *tšölö*, Kh. *tšölk*, Al.B *sölk*, Kh.B *sulk*, Kalm. *tšölę* id.

#### (B) The Long Vowels of the Second Category

37. As remarked above there are long vowels originating from short vowels. In many cases long vowels correspond to short vowels of the Written Mongolian language. These correspondences, however, are not consistent.

(a) First of all, a relatively consistent correspondence is that of long vowels to Written Mongolian short vowels in monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel, i.e., in stems the only syllable of which is open.

Mo., MMo. (SH, P) *a-* 'to be', Dag. *ā-* id.; in all the remaining Mongolian languages only single forms of this verb are preserved, and the vowel remains short: cf. Al.B *aža* 'being', Kalm. *sändži* < \**aysan aži* 'was', etc.

Mo. *ki-* < \**qii-* 'to do, to make, to put', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ki-* ~ (P) *k'i-* id. ~ (Mu.) *qildubalar* (a reciprocal verb) 'they did mutually', Dag. *kī-* 'to do', Mog. *kenā* ~ *kīnā* 'he does', Mong. *gi-* 'to do', Urd. *kī-*, Kh. *χī-* id., *χīlgə-* 'to cause someone to do', Bur. *χē-* 'to do', Bur. *χūl-* 'to cause to do', Kalm. *ke-* 'to do'.

Mo. *sün* 'milk', MMo. (Mu.) *sün*, Dag. *sū*, Mog. *sun*, Mong. *sun*, Kh. *sū*, Ekh.B *huŋ* (but accusative is *hūŋjə*) id.

(b) Sometimes the vowel is long in monosyllabic stems ending in a consonant, i.e., in closed syllables:

Mo. *on* 'year', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hon*, Dag. *ōŋ*, Dag. Iv. *χuan*, Mong. *fän*, Urd. *on*, Kh. *oŋ*, Bur. *oŋ*, Kalm. *on* id.

(c) In original disyllabic and polysyllabic stems the initial syllable sometimes becomes long in Dagur:

Mo. *modun* 'tree', MMo. (SH) *mudun*, Dag. *mōd*, Mong. *mōdi*, Urd. *mudu*, Kh. *moddv*, Bur. *modon*, Mog. *modun*, Kalm. *modŋ* id.

Mo. *yadana* 'outside', MMo. (SH) *yadā* ~ (Mu.) *yadādu* < \**yada-yadu* 'outer', Dag. *qād* 'out', Mong. *qada* 'outside', Urd., Kh. *qadā* 'out', Bur., Kalm. *qazā* id., Mog. *yadana* 'outside'.

(d) The lengthening of the vowel of the initial syllable is a phenomenon particularly frequent in the Monguor language. The general rule seems to be that the original short vowels \**a* and \**o* become long before the vowel \**u* of the second syllable, and similarly, the primary \**ö* becomes long before the vowel \**ü*:

Mong. *āba* < \**abu* 'father' = Mo. *abu*, Kh. *āwv*, Kalm. *āwv* id.

Mong. *dāχu* 'the name of an ancient garment of Monguor women' = Mo. *daqu* 'fur coat', MMo. (SH) *daqu* id., Urd. *daxu* 'a short jacket', Kh. *daχχv* 'fur coat', Bur., Kalm. *daxv* id.

Mong. *dālī* 'shoulder' = Mo., MMo. *dalu* 'scapula', Urd. *dalu*, Kh. *dallv*, Mog. *dōlu* id.

Mong. *dāri-* 'to press, to squeeze' = Mo., MMo. *daru-*, Dag. *dara-*, Urd. *daru-*, Kh. *darp-*, Kalm. *dar-* id., Mog. *daruna* 'he squeezes'.

Mong. *dōli-* 'to lick' = Mo. *dolija-* ~ *doluya-* < \**daluya-* id., MMo. (Mu.) *dolāba* 'he licked', Urd., Kh. *dolō-* 'to lick', Bur. *dolō-*, Kalm. *dolā-* id.

Mong. *fōdi* 'star' = Mo. *odun*, MMo. (H, Mu.) *hōdun*, Dag. *od* ~ *oddo*, Urd. *udu*, Kh. *oddv*, Bur. *odoŋ*, Kalm. *odŋ* id.

Mong. *fōdi* 'feather' = Mo. *ödün*, MMo. (Mu.) *hödün*; Dag. *udus*, Urd. *uduu*, Kh. *vidda*, Kalm. *ödŋ* id.

(e) In a few cases the length of the vowel is of compensatory nature in Monguor:

Mong. *āse* 'livestock, domestic animals' = Mo. *aduyusun*, MMo. (SH) *adusun*, Dag. *adasa* < \**adusu*, Al.B *adahaŋ* id.

Mong. *χādžiä-* 'to separate' = Mo. *qayača-*, Urd. *χaqatši-*, Kh. *χaqotsn-* id.

(f) In a number of stems the vowels of the non-initial syllables become long in Dagur and Monguor, while they are short in the remaining Mongolian languages. It is possible that this phenomenon is due to emphasis.

Dag. *əndūy* 'egg' = Mo. *öndegen*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ömdegen*, Mog. *wundayōn*, Mong. *ndige* (disappearance of the initial vowel), Urd. *öndögö*, Kh. *ündag*, Al.B *ündügүη*, Kalm. *öndögŋ* id.

Dag. *wgīn* 'daughter' = Mo. *ökin* ~ *okin* id., Al.B *üsibüt* < \**ökin* *köbegüd* 'children', Kalm. *ökŋ* 'daughter'.

Dag. *χonğör* 'yellowish brown' (cf. Tungus near Barguzin *kon-*  
*gör* id.) = Mo. *qonyor* < \**qonyar*, Urd. *χongor*, Kh. *χongor* id.

Dag. *aⱩdūy* ~ *aⱩrdūy* 'terrible' = Mo. *ajuydaqu* 'one who is to be feared'.

Dag. *nařīn* 'thin' = Mo. *narin*, Mong. *narin*, Urd. *narīn*, Kh. *nařīn*, Bur. *nařīχaŋ* id.

Dag. *-lā-* (suffix of denominal verbs) = Mo. *-la-*, Mog. *-la-*, Mong. *-la-*, Urd. *-la-*, Kh. *-lv-*, etc., e.g., Dag. *darχalā-* 'to forge' = Mo. *dar-qala-* id. (cf. Tungus *darkalā-* id., Yakut *-lā-*, etc.).

Dag. *-γā-* and *-lγā-* (suffixes of causative verbs) = Mo. *-γa-* and *-lγa-*, Mog. *-γa-* and *-lγa-*, Mong. *-qā-* and *-rγā-*, Urd. *-qā-* and *-lqā-*, etc.

Mong. *-rā-* (suffix of denominal verbs) = Mo. *-ra-*, Dag., Urd. *-ra-*, Kh. *-rv-*, etc.

### The Diphthongs

38. The so-called diphthongs in Written Mongolian are combinations of the type *Vowel + ji*, e.g., *sajin* 'good'. In Common Mongolian there were forms of the type *\*baji-* 'to stand, to be' = Mo. *bajid*, which correspond to Khalkha *bai-* (in simplified transcription, but in fine transcription this is *bāē-*).

The groups of the type *\*aji*, *\*oji*, etc. in many cases developed from *\*ayi*, *\*oyi*, etc. or *\*aβi*, *\*oβi*, etc.

In Pre-Mongolian there still existed groups of the type *\*ayi*, *\*aβi*, e.g., Mo. *sajin* < *\*sayin* 'good' = Turk.: Uigur *say* 'healthy'; Mo. *qajiči* < *\*qaβitū* 'scissors' = Turk.: Yakut *kiptū* id., etc.

When *\*i* gradually became *i* the latter palatalized the consonant *\*γ* (*\*β*), and *\*ayi* became *\*ayi* > *\*ayi* (and *\*aβi* became *\*aβi* > *\*aβi*). Hence the Common Mongolian *\*aji* resulted.

In Ancient Mongolian there were already *\*aji*, *\*oji*, etc. The spelling of the Written Mongolian preserves this stage, e.g., Mo. *ajil* < *\*ayil* < *\*ayil* 'yurt, neighbour', cf. Turk. *ayıl* 'corral'.

In Middle Mongolian the groups *aji*, *oji*, etc. still existed as such, e.g., the spelling of the ḥP'ags-pa script still renders them as *aji*, *oji*, etc., for instance, P *sajin* 'good', *talaji* 'sea', *ejimü* 'such one'. At the end of words, however, P has only *eē* and *uē*, and not *ei* or *ui*, e.g., *k'eē* 'wind', *ari'uē* 'clean', etc. In the Secret History there are such forms as *ajil* 'a camp of yurts', *ejimü* 'such one', but at the end of words only *ai* occurred, cf. *noqai* 'dog' (and also *ei*, *ui*, e.g., *kei* 'wind', *buui* 'he is', etc.), although sometimes at the end of words the group *uji* is found, e.g., *boluji* 'is'.

In Moslem sources on Middle Mongolian the initial syllables still have *aji*, e.g., *ajilyaba* 'he scared' = Mo. *ajilya-* 'to scare', Kh. *aēlgv-*

id., whereas in the non-initial syllables the group *\*aji* is always represented by *aj*, e.g. *dalaj* 'sea'.

The correspondences in the Mongolian languages are as follows.

### *\*aji*

The group *\*aji* results in different sounds, depending upon whether *\*a* constitutes the initial (and *ji* the second) syllable (a) or a non-initial one (b). Besides, *\*aji* undergoes, in certain languages, the influence of the vowel *\*o* of the initial syllable and, consequently, *\*a* becomes *o* (c).

(a) The group *\*aji* constitutes the first two syllables: (b) The group *\*aji* in other positions:

Mo., MMo. <i>aji</i> , at the end <i>aj</i> ,	Mo., MMo. <i>aji</i> , at the end <i>aj</i> ,
Dag. <i>aj</i> , ē,	Dag. <i>aj</i> , ē,
Mog. <i>ai</i> ( <i>oi</i> ),	Mog. <i>ɛj</i> ,
Mong. <i>ɛ</i> ,	Mong. <i>ɛ</i> , sometimes <i>i</i> ,
Urd. <i>ā</i> ,	Urd. <i>ā</i> ,
Kh. <i>āg</i> ,	Kh. <i>əē</i> ,
Kh.B <i>āg</i> ,	Kh.B <i>əē</i> ,
Al.B <i>āi</i> ( <i>ā</i> ),	Al.B <i>ā</i> ,
Kalm.D <i>ā</i> ,	Kalm.D <i>ā</i> ,
Kalm.T <i>ā</i> ,	Kalm.T <i>ā</i> .

(a) Mo. *sajin* 'good', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *sajin* id., Dag. *saiχan* 'beautiful', Mog. *sōin* 'good', Mong. *sən*, Urd. *sān*, Kh. *saiη*, Kh.B *haη*, Al.B *hāη*, Kalm. *sān* 'good'.

Mo. *čai* (< Chinese) 'tea', Dag. *tšē*, Urd. *tšā*, Kh. *tsāg*, Al.B *sāi*, Kalm. *tsā* id.

(b) Mo. *dalaj* 'sea', MMo. (P) *talaji* ~ (SH, Mu.) *dalaj*, Dag. *dalaj*, (Mog. does not have this word, but cf. *γōqej* 'hog' = Mo. *γaqaj* id.), Mong. *dalē*, Urd. *dalā*, Kh. *daləē*, Al.B *dalā*, Kalm.D *dalā*, Kalm.T *dalā* id.

Mo. *qaraji-* 'to jump', Dag. *χarē-*, Urd. *χarā-*, Kh. *χarəē-*, Al.B *χarā-* id.

(c) *\*aji* when influenced by the vowel *\*o* of the initial syllable:

Mo. *aji*, at the end of words *aj* ~ *oij*,

MMo. *aj*,

Mog. *ej*,

Mong. *ę*; *uę* after *χ*,

Urd. *ā*,

Kh. *ə̄* ~ *ə̄̄*,

Kh.B *ə̄* ~ *ə̄̄*,

Al.B *ə̄*,

Kalm.D *ā̄*,

Kalm.T *ā̄*.

Mo. *noqai* 'dog', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *noqai*, Mog. *noqež*, Mong. *noχuę*, Urd. *noχā̄*, Kh. *noχə̄* ~ *noχə̄̄*, Al.B *noχā̄*, Kalm.D *noχā̄*, Kalm.T *noχā̄* id.

Mo. *oroj* < \**horai* < \**gorai* 'top', MMo. (P) *horayi*, Dag. *orē*, Urd. *orā̄*, Kh. *orə̄̄*, Al.B *orā̄*, Kalm.D *orā̄*, Kalm.T *orā̄* id.

### \**eji*

(a) The group \**eji* constituting the first two syllables:

Mo. *eji*, final *ej*,

MMo. *eji*, P usually has *eji*

at the beginning of words,

Dag. *ej*,

Mog. *ej*,

Mong. *ī*,

Urd., Kh. *ī*,

Bur. *ī*,

Kalm. *ī*,

Mo. *eji*, in final position *ej*,

MMo. *ej*, P *eē*,

Dag. *ej*, *ī*,

Mog. (?)

Mong. *ē*,

Urd., Kh. *ī*,

Bur. *ē* ~ *ē̄*,

Kalm. *ē*.

(a) Mo. *ejimü* 'such one', MMo. (SH) *ejimü* ~ (P) *ējimü*, Dag. *qimər* id., Urd. *īm* 'in this manner', Kh. *īm* 'such one', Al.B *īmə*, Kalm. *īm⁹* id.

Mo. *tejimü* 'of that kind, such as that', MMo. (SH) *tejimü* ~ (P) *t'ejimü*, Dag. *teqimər* id., Urd. *tsim*, Kh. *īm*, Bur. *īme*, Kalm. *īm⁹* id.

Mo. *kej* 'wind', MMo. (P) *keē* id., Dag. *kəjñ* id., Mog. *kej* 'wind, air', Mong., Urd. *kī*, Kh. *χī*, Bur. *χī*, Al.B *sī*, Kalm. *kī* 'air'.

(b) Mo. *delekej* 'universe, world', MMo. (SH) *delegej* 'large' ~ (P) *delegej* id., Dag. *dəlkəī* 'the surface of the earth', Urd. *delexī*, Kh. *delχī*, Bur. *dələχēī*, Kalm. *delkē* id.

#### \**oji*

The group \**oji* constitutes only the first two syllables of stems, i.e., \**o* occurs only in the initial syllable (a). In other positions it is of secondary origin, resulting from \**aji* after the vowel \**o* of the initial syllable (vide supra) or from the group \**uyaji* (b).

(a) \**oji* constituting the first two syllables:

Mo., MMo. *oji*,

Dag. *qaī* in presently monosyllabic stems or before \**a* of the following syllable; *wqaī* in initial position in otherwise similar conditions,

*oī* before vowels other than \**a*,

Mog. *oī*,

Mong. *ō* in presently monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel (i.e., when the syllable is open),

*uē* in disyllabic stems after the deep-velar consonant *χ*,

*ē* in other disyllabic stems and after *f* in monosyllabic stems,

*ī* sometimes in disyllabic stems,

Urd. *ōq*,

Kh., Kh.B *ōq*,

Al.B *ōī* ~ *ōī*,

Kalm. *ōī*.

Mo. *oī* 'forest', MMo. (SH) *hoī*, Mong. *fē*, Urd. *ōq*, Kh. *ōq*, Al.B *ōī*, Kalm. *ōī* id.

Mo. *ojira* 'near', MMo. (SH) *ojira*, Dag. *woaīr*, Mog. *oīrō*, Urd. *ōōro*, Kh. *ōērō*, Al.B *ōīro*, Kalm. *ōrō* id.

Mo. *qojina* 'after, behind', MMo. (SH, P) *qojina*, Dag. *χoajna*, Mog. *qoīna*, Mong. *χuēno*, Urd. *χōōno*, Kh. *χoēnō*, Al.B *χōīno*, Kalm. *χōnō* id.

Mo. *nojitan* 'wet', MMo. (SH) *nojitan*, Mong. *nitiän*, Urd. *nōğton*, Kh. *nōğtəŋ*, Al.B *nō̄təŋ*, Kalm. *nō̄tŋ* id.

Mo. *mojilisun* 'bird-cherry', MMo. (SH) *mojilsun*, Dag. *mojili*,  
Kh. *moēl* ~ *moēs* id.

(b) *oij* < \**oji* < \**uyaaji*:

The group *\*uyaji* > *\*uyai*, occurring in the non-initial syllables in Common Mongolian, developed into *o'aj* at an early stage and finally resulted in the following sounds:

Mo. *oi,*

MMo. (SH) *o'ai*,

Urd. ö.

Kh. *vē*,

Kh.B *vē*,

Al.B. 6,

Kalm.D

Kalm.T

Mo. *sire*

Urd. šorō, Kh. šorvē, Kh.B šorvē, Al.B šorō, Kalm.D šorā, Kalm.T šorā id.

\*ugr

The group  $^*wji$  <  $^*wyr$  and  $^*upi$  results in the following sounds:

- (a) \**uŋi* constituting the first two syllables: (b) \**uŋi* in other positions:

Mo. <i>uji</i> ,	<i>uji</i> , final <i>už</i> ,
MMo. <i>uji</i> ,	<i>už</i> , P <i>už</i> ,
Dag. <i>gaž</i> before * <i>a</i> of the following syllable; <i>wgaž</i> in the same position but at the beginning of words,	<i>už</i> ,

Mog. <i>uī</i> ,	<i>ui</i> ,
Mong. <i>uē</i> after velar con- sonants; usually <i>u</i> ; sometimes <i>wī</i> at the beginning,	<i>u</i> ,

Urd. <i>uč</i> ,	<i>uč</i> ,
Kh. <i>uč</i> ( <i>uč</i> ),	<i>vč</i> ,
Al.B <i>ūč</i> ,	<i>č</i> ~ <i>vč</i> ,
Kalm. <i>ūč</i> ,	<i>ūč</i> .

(a) Mo. *ujila-* 'to weep, to cry', MMo. (SH) *ujila-* ~ (Mu.) *učla-*, Dag. *wqaił-*, Khar. *wäęł-* id., Mog. *uñlanā* 'he is weeping', Mong. *ulā-* 'to weep', Urd. *učla-*, Kh. *učlv-*, Al.B *ūčla-*, Kalm. *ūł-* id.

Mo. *ujitan* 'narrow', MMo. (H) *hiutan* ~ (Mu.) *ujitan*, Mong. *witan* ~ *jutän*, Urd. *ujitan*, Kh. *ujtav*, Al.B *ūtian*, Kalm. *ūtä* id.

Mo. *yujirinči* ~ *yujilinči* 'beggar', MMo. (SH) *yuj-* 'to beg' ~ (Mu.) *yujruči* 'beggar', Dag. *qoai-* 'to beg, to ask', Mong. *quęrla-* 'to beg, to ask for alms', Urd. *qujramiši* 'beggar', Kh. *qujriṇtiši*, Al.B *quramša* id., Kalm. *qu-* ~ *qu-* 'to beg', *qulṇtiši* 'beggar'.

(b) Mo. *qaraŋγui* 'darkness, dark', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qaraŋγu*, Dag. *χaraŋγui*, Mog. *qaraŋγui*, Mong. *χaraŋgu*, Urd. *χaraŋγu*, Kh. *χa-* *rəŋχv*, Al.B *χaraŋχi*, Kalm. *χarəŋgū* id.

#### \*öji

The group \*öji converged with \*üji in most Mongolian languages at an early date. It constituted the first two syllables, i.e., \*ö belonged to the initial syllable. This group has developed into the following sounds:

Mo. <i>üč</i> (or <i>üj</i> ),
MMo. (SH) <i>öji</i> ,
Dag. <i>uč</i> ,
Mong. <i>ūč</i> ; after <i>k</i> it is <i>uč</i> or <i>uč</i> ,
Urd. <i>i</i> (~ <i>uč</i> , <i>ūč</i> ),
Kh. <i>üj</i> ,
Al.B <i>ūč</i> (seldom <i>i</i> ),
Kalm. <i>i</i> .

Mo. *süjke* < \*söjike (cf. Turk.: Kirgis *sökö*) 'earring', MMo. (Mu.) *söjke* (or *süjke*?), Mong. *süge*, Urd. *süjχe*, Kh. *süjχa*, Al.B *hüχə*, Kalm. *sikə* id.

Mo. *küjten* < \*köjiten < \*köjiten (cf. *kö-r-*, *kö-l-dö-* 'to freeze')

'cold', MMo. (SH) *köjiten* id., Dag. *kuuqışen*, Mong. *kuidiän*, Urd. *kütön* ~ *kuuqiten* ~ *kiten*, Kh. *χüjtaŋ*, Al.B *χü'iten*, Kalm. *kītŋ* id.

Kalm *kılıg* 'shirt' < Turk.: Uzbek *köjlək* id.

Kalm. *dī-* ~ *dū-* 'to be puzzled, to be scared, to be embarrassed', Al.B *dívjə-* 'stupid', *dívjər-* 'to be stupefied, to be silly' (cf. Turk.: Yakut *döŋ-* 'to become stupid').

#### \*üji

The group \*üji results in different sounds, depending upon whether \*ü of the group belongs to the initial syllable (a) or a non-initial syllable (b).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (a) the resulting vowel constitutes the initial syllable: | (b) the resulting vowel constitutes a non-initial syllable: |
|---|---|

Mo. <i>üi</i> ,	<i>üi</i> ,
MMo. (SH) <i>üi</i> , (P) <i>üe</i> ,	(SH) <i>üi</i> , (P) <i>üe</i> ,
Dag. <i>wi</i> ,	<i>wi</i> ,
Mong. <i>u</i> ,	(?)
Urd. <i>wi</i> ,	<i>wi</i> ~ <i>üi</i> ,
Kh., Kh.B <i>üj</i> ,	<i>äi</i> ,
Al.B <i>üi</i> ,	<i>äi</i> ,
Kalm. <i>ü</i> ,	<i>ü</i> .

(a) Mo. *üle* 'work, deed', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *üle* id. ~ (P) *üles* 'deeds', Dag. *wild-* 'to do', Mong. *ulie* 'deed, work', Urd. *wi*le, Kh. *üjl* id., Al.B *ü'lə* 'needlework', Kalm. *üla* 'work'.

Mo. *üjme-* 'to bustle, to be solicitous, to be fiddling up and down', Urd. *wjme-*, Kh. *üjme-*, Kalm. *üm-* id.

Mo. *tüjmer* 'fire, blast, conflagration', Urd. *tuwimer*, Kh. *tüjmar*, Al.B *tü'mar*, Kalm. *tümr* id.

(b) Mo. *tedüi* 'the size of; so much', MMo. (SH) *tedüi* ~ (P) *tedüe*, Urd. *tedüi* ~ *tödüi*, Kh. *tidüi*, Al.B *tədüi*, Kalm. *tedü* ~ *tödü* id.

39. There are irregular developments of the diphthongs. They affect mainly suffixes. Such a suffix is, e.g., -tai of the comitative case:

Mo. - <i>tai</i> ,
MMo. (P) - <i>t'aji</i> ,

Dag. *-t<sup>v</sup>i / -t<sup>v</sup>i*,  
 Mong. *-d<sup>g</sup>*,  
 Urd. *-tā / -ti*,  
 Kh. *-tē*,  
 Ts.B *-ti*,  
 Kh.B *-tē*,  
 AgaB *-tē / -tē*,  
 Al.B *-tē*,  
 Kalm.D *-tā / -te*,  
 Kalm.T *-tā / -te*.

Mo. *moritai* 'having a horse', MMo. (P) *qut'ugt'aji* 'holy' ('possessing holiness'), Dag. *adōr'i* 'having horses', Mong. *uladē* 'mountainous', Urd. *χadatā* 'rocky, having a rock', Kh. *aχxtē* 'having an elder brother', Ts.B *aχxti* id., Kh.B *aχtē* id., AgaB *mortē* 'having a horse', Al.B *aχtē* 'having an elder brother', Kalm.D *aχvtā*, Kalm.T *aχvtā* id.

40. The final diphthongs are characteristic of ancient feminine forms. The masculine forms occurred without the final *ı*:

(a) In Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian there is an alternation of the final diphthong *ui* with *u* corresponding to a short vowel in spoken languages:

Mo. *mayui* ~ *mayu* 'bad, evil', MMo. (SH) *mao'uı* id. ~ (IM) *ma'uıllaba* 'he reproached, cursed', Dag. *mō* < \**mayu*, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *mū* < \**mayu* 'bad, evil'.

Mo. *ayui* ~ *ayu* 'large, vast', MMo. (SH) *a'uı* ~ (P) *a'uę* ~ (Mu.) *a'u*, Mong. *ū*, Urd. *ūdžim* < \**ayužim* < \**ayudžim* id., Kh. *ūdžim*, Al.B *ūčam*, Kalm. *ū* < \**ayu* 'vast'.

Mo. *-quı* ~ *-qu* suffix of the Nomen futuri, MMo. (P) *-quę* ~ *-qu* ~ (Mu.) *-quı* ~ *-qu*, Dag. *-quı* ~ *-qu*, Mong. *-quı* ~ *-gu*, Urd. *-χu*, Kh., Bur., Kalm. *-χv* < \**-qu* id.

(b) The alternation *-aı* ~ *-a* occurs in Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian in the suffix *-γa* of the Nomen imperfecti:

Mo. *-γaı* (rarely and only in old texts) ~ *-γa*, MMo. (SH) *-aı* ~ (P) *-aıi*, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *-ā* < *-γa* id.

41. Final diphthongs are dropped in many cases in Dagur:

Dag. *gay* ~ *gaya* 'hog, pig' = Mo. *yaqai*, MMo. (Mu.) *yaqai*,  
Mog. *yōqeči*, Mong. *χaqči*, Urd. *qaxā*, Kh. *qaxvē*, Al.B *qaxā*, Kalm.D  
*qaxā*, Kalm.T *qaxā* id.

Dag. *džol* 'sinciput, crown of the head' = Mo. *žulači*, Urd. *džulā*,  
Kh. *džulvē* < \**žulači*, Al.B *žolō* < \**žiluya*, Kalm. *zulā* < \**žulači* id.

Dag. *nøy* 'dog' = Mo. *noqai*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *noqai*, Mog. *noqči*,  
Mong. *noχuči*, Urd. *noχā*, Kh. *noχvē*, Al.B *noχō*, Kalm.D *noχā*, Kalm.T  
*noχā* id.

Dag. *mayal* < \**maqala* 'cap' = Mo. *malayači*, MMo. (SH, Mu.)  
*maqalači*, Mog. *malyči*, Mong. *marga*, Urd. *malagā*, Kh. *malgvē*, Al.B  
*malyā*, Kalm.D *maylā*, T *maylā* id.

Dag. *maŋgil* 'forehead' = Mo. *maŋlai*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *maŋlai*,  
Mong. *māŋli*, Urd. *maŋnā*, Kh. *maŋnvē*, Kalm.D *maŋnā*, Kalm.T  
*maŋnā* id.

### The Vocalic Harmony

42. Vocalic harmony is a phenomenon common to all Altaic languages. It is developed in the Mongolian, Turkic, and Manchu-Tungus languages, and its traces are found in Korean.

Vocalic harmony is an old phenomenon in Mongolian. Being inherited from Common Altaic, it existed also in Common Mongolian.

Vocalic harmony is manifested by the fact that in one and the same stem only back or only front vowels may occur. This means that one and the same word may contain only \**a*, \**o*, \**u*, \**i* or only \**e*, \**ö*, \**ü*, \**i*.

The vowel \**i* converged with \**i* long ago and the latter became a neutral vowel. Now it may occur in stems with any vowels.

The vowel \**i* of the second syllable has transformed the back vowel of the initial syllable into a front vowel in a number of Mongolian languages, e.g., Ch. *möry*, Kalm. *mörny* 'horse' < \**morin*, cf. Kalm. *mörnylč* 'with the horse' (and not *mörnylā*).

The development of the groups \**aji*, \**oji* into long front vowels

in certain Mongolian languages in its turn affected the ancient principle. Although the groups mentioned have become *ā* and *ō* respectively, the resulting sounds, i.e., *ā* and *ō*, still function as back vowels in the system, because they have resulted from \**aji* or \**oji*. Such words as *āl* 'neighbor' and *ō* 'forest' in the dialect of the Alar Buriats are back vocalic stems requiring suffixes with back vocalism, e.g., *ālār* 'among the neighbors', *ōdō* 'to one's own forest', etc.

The Monguor language has lost the vocalic harmony and, therefore, it does not have double forms of suffixes (with back or front vowels, depending upon the character of the stem concerned) but has only one form of each suffix.

A more recent phenomenon is the so-called labial attraction. Under the influence of the vowel *o* (or *ō*) unrounded open (wide) vowels in the non-initial syllables become rounded, e.g., after *o* no *ā* can follow but only *ō*. The general rule is:

After a syllable containing one of these vowels:	Only one of these vowels occur:
<i>o</i> <i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i> and not <i>ā</i>
<i>ō</i> <i>ō</i> (and all the nuances of these vowels)	<i>ō</i> ( <i>ō</i> ) and not <i>ē</i>

The labial attraction did not exist in Common Mongolian or Ancient Mongolian. It did not exist in Middle Mongolian either. It is unknown in the Mogol language. It does not exist in the Oirat dialects and in Kalmuck in particular.

The labial attraction is a characteristic feature in the Urdus and all the remaining Inner Mongolian (South Mongolian) dialects, in Khalkha, and in Buriat.

In considering vocalic harmony and labial attraction in the Mongolian languages, we will start with Common Mongolian.

#### (A) Common Mongolian

The initial syllable	The following syllable
* <i>a</i> * <i>o</i> * <i>u</i> * <i>i</i> * <i>e</i> * <i>ō</i> * <i>ü</i> * <i>i</i>	* <i>a</i> * <i>u</i> * <i>i</i> * <i>e</i> * <i>ü</i> * <i>i</i>

\**a* of the initial syllable:

- \**aqa* 'elder brother'
- \**daru-* 'to squeeze'
- \**saqi-* 'to protect'

\**o* of the initial syllable:

- \**olan* 'many'
- \**gədun* 'star'
- \**morin* 'horse'

\**u* of the initial syllable:

- \**gulayan* 'red'
- \**yutul* 'boot'
- \**uri-* 'to call'

\**i* of the initial syllable:

- \**qilyasun* 'horsehair, hair'
- \**qituya* 'knife'
- \**cigün* 'ears'

\**i* of the initial syllable:

- \**ire-* 'to come'
- \**sidiin* 'tooth'
- \**biči-* 'to write'

\**e* of the initial syllable:

- \**ere* 'man'
- \**temür* 'iron'
- \**pergi-* 'to turn'

\**ö* of the initial syllable:

- \**köke* 'blue'
- \**möngün* 'silver'
- \**öri* 'debt'

\*ü of the initial syllable:

- \*güre 'seed, fruit, descendant'
- \*kündü 'heavy'
- \*dürü 'appearance, shape, face'

(B) Ancient Mongolian in many aspects did not differ much from Common Mongolian. In Written Mongolian, almost identical with Ancient Mongolian, and in Middle Mongolian \*i and \*i converged and the syllables \*qi and \*yi were gradually replaced by ki and gi. In many cases \*qi and \*yi, however, still existed and in manuscripts dating from the XIV century forms with qi and yi occurred.

In Written Mongolian the group \*uyai already resulted in oj and this means that after i < \*i of the initial syllable the diphthong oj was possible.

The vowel a of the second syllable was frequently assimilated to the vowel o of the initial syllable in Mo. and MMo. Consequently, in many stems there was after o of the initial syllable the vowel o and not a. Similarly, after the vowel \*ö of the initial syllable the vowel \*e became ö.

Ancient, Written, and Middle Mongolian

(The asterisk after Mo. means that the form concerned occurs only in the language of the pre-classical period; qi and yi mean that the vowel \*i occurred only in this combination and did not occur with other consonants)

The initial syllable	The following syllable
a u	a u
o	a o < *a u
qi yi (AM, Mo.* ,MMo.)	a u
i < *i	a u Mo. oj < *uyai AM, Mo.* ,MMo. qi yi i
i < *i	e ü
e ü	e ü
ö	e ö < *e ü

*a* of the initial syllable:

- AM Mo. MMo. *aqa* 'elder brother'  
 AM Mo. MMo. *daru-* 'to squeeze'  
 AM Mo.\* MMo. *saqī-* 'to protect'  
 AM Mo. MMo. *ači* < \**ati* < \**atī* 'grandson'

*o* of the initial syllable:

- AM Mo. MMo. *qola* 'far, distant'  
 MMo. (SH) *oron* < \**oran* (cf. Mu. *oran*) 'place'  
 AM MMo. *hodun*, Mo. *odun* 'star'  
 AM Mo.\* MMo. (Mu.) *orqī-* 'to throw'  
 AM Mo. MMo. *morin* < \**morīn* 'horse'

*u* of the initial syllable:

- AM \**hulayan*, MMo. *hula'an*, Mo. *ulayan* 'red'  
 AM Mo. MMo. *yutul* 'boot'  
 AM Mo. MMo. *uri-* < \**urī-* 'to call, to invite'

*i* of the initial syllable:

- AM Mo. MMo. (Mu.) *qīlyasun* 'horsehair'  
 AM Mo. MMo. *qītuya* 'knife'  
 AM Mo.\* MMo. (Mu.) *čiqīn* < \**čīqīn* 'ears'

*i* < \**i* of the initial syllable:

- AM Mo. *sira*, MMo. *šira* 'yellow'  
 AM Mo. MMo. (Mu.) *nisun* 'mucus'  
 AM. \**siruyači*, MMo. (SH) *širo'ači*, Mo. *siroči* 'earth, dust'

*i* < \**i* of the initial syllable:

- AM Mo. MMo. *ire-* 'to come'

AM Mo. *sidün*, MMo. *śidün* 'tooth'

AM Mo. MMo. *biči-* 'to write'

*ö* of the initial syllable:

AM MMo. (Mu.) *öles-*, Mo. *ölös-* 'to become hungry'

AM Mo. MMo. *möngün* 'silver'

AM Mo. MMo. *öri* 'debt'

*ü* of the initial syllable:

AM MMo. *hüre*, Mo. *iire* 'seed, fruit, descendant'

AM Mo. MMo. *kündü* 'heavy'

AM Mo. MMo. *düri* 'appearance, face, complexion'

(C) In Middle Mongolian the groups *\*aya*, *\*ayu*, etc. were already in the process of contraction after the consonant *\*γ* had disappeared. This resulted in the appearance of long vowels (*ā* < *a'a* < *\*aya* etc.). This process has proceeded much further in the Mongolian languages spoken presently.

In many Mongolian languages vocalic harmony is connected closely with labial attraction. The latter plays an important role in grammar, because many suffixes appear in four forms, depending upon whether the stem concerned contains rounded middle vowels or not. Thus suffixes with *ā* appear also with *ē*, *ō*, and *ɔ̄*, depending upon the vocalism of the preceding syllable. In other words, the suffix vowel must not only be a back vowel (versus a front vowel) but also rounded or unrounded as the case may require.

In Middle Mongolian, Mogol, and in all Oirat dialects, including also Kalmuck, labial attraction does not occur. Further, it also does not occur in suffixes in Monguor, while in Dagur there are only traces of labial attraction almost undeveloped.

The labial attraction is fully developed in all remaining East Mongolian languages, i.e., in Urdus (and all the other Inner Mongolian dialects), Khalkha, and Buriat.

To illustrate this we shall follow the long vowel *ā* in a suffix, e.g., in the ablative case in all Mongolian languages.

The vocalism of the stem	The vocalism of the suffix	
	MMo., Dag., Mog., Mong., Kalm.	Urd., Kh., Bur.
<i>a</i> or <i>u</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>
<i>o</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>e</i> or <i>ü</i>	MMo. <i>ē</i> , Dag. <i>ē</i> ( <i>ē</i> ), Mog. <i>ā</i> Mong. <i>a</i> , Kalm. <i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>
<i>ö</i>	MMo. <i>ē</i> , Dag. <i>ē</i> ( <i>ē</i> ), Mog. <i>ā</i> Mong. <i>a</i> , Kalm. <i>ē</i>	Urd. <i>ā</i> , Kh., Bur. <i>ā</i>

Note: *e* and *ö* in the left column stand also for *ē*, *ɛ*, etc. and *ō*, *v̄*, etc. respectively. Instead of *ü* in some languages *ū* is found, but this does not change the general picture.

#### The vowel *a* or *u* of the stem:

MMo. (Mu.) *amanāsa* 'from the mouth', *usunāsa* 'from the water';  
 Dag. *barjanās* 'from Buddha'; Mog. *muryāsa* 'from the bird'; Mong.  
*amandza* 'from the mouth'; Kalm. *aχās* 'from the elder brother';  
 Urd., Kh. *aχās* id.; Bur. *aχahā*, BB *aχāha* id.

#### The vowel *o* of the stem:

MMo. (Mu.) *oranāsa* 'from the place'; Dag. *tšolōjās* 'from the stone';  
 Mog. *morināsa* 'from the horse'; Mong. *moridza* id.; Kalm. *modnās*  
 'from the tree'; Kh. *modonōs* id.; Bur. *modonhō*, BB *modonōho* id.

#### The vowel *e* (and all kinds of *e*-sounds) or *ü* (*ū*) of the stem:

MMo. (Mu.) *erēse* 'from the man'; Dag. *erēs* id.; Mog. *dērāsa* 'from  
 above'; Mong. *nudundza* < \**nidiūnēse* 'from the eye'; Kalm. *nüd-*  
*nes* id.; Urd., Kh. *erēs* 'from the man'; Bur. *erēhē*, BB *erēhə* id.

#### The vowel *ö* (or *ü*) of the stem:

MMo. (Mu.) *kölēse* 'from the foot'; Dag. *kulēs* < \**kölēs* id.; in  
 Mog. no appropriate example of the ablative has been found, but  
 there is an instrumental form *kölär* 'with the foot, by means of the  
 foot', cf. Kh. *χölər* id.; Mong. *ndurdza* 'from the height' < \**öndüreče*;

Kalm. *köləs* 'from the foot' (cf. *kölər* 'with the foot'); Urd. *köləs* 'from the foot'; Kh. *χöлəс* ~ *χиləс* id.; Al.B *χülhəн*, Aga *χulhəн* ~ *χulhə*, BB *χi:ləhə* id.

43. It was stated above (§ 38) that the groups *\*aji*, *\*uji*, etc. in certain Mongolian languages have developed into long front vowels, e.g., *\*aji* > Al.B *ä*, *\*uji* > Al.B *ü*, etc. The resulting long vowels are front vowels, but in the phonologic system they behave as back vowels, requiring suffixes with back vowels, e.g., Al.B *bäγät* < *\*baji-yad*, Conv. perf. of *\*baji-* 'to stand'; *älär* < *\*ajilijar* 'through the neighbours', etc.

The consequence of this is that certain front vowels (*ä*, *ü*) are treated as back vowels in the phonologic system; others, e.g., Al.B *ü* (< *\*uji* and *\*üji*) are, from the point of view of vocalic harmony, neutral vowels, e.g., *ü'lät* < *\*ujilayad* Conv.perf. of *\*ujila-* 'to weep', *ü'lér* < *\*üjileßer* 'by means of needlework' (instr.).

The groups *\*aji*, *\*oji*, etc. were preserved as such in Ancient Mongolian, Written Mongolian, and Middle Mongolian. There they complied with the general rules of vocalic harmony, namely *\*aji* and other groups containing back vowels occurred in back vocalic stems, whereas *\*eji* and other groups containing front vowels occurred only in front vocalic stems.

Let us investigate the groups *\*aji* etc. from the point of view of vocalic harmony and labial attraction.

(a) In Dagur *aⱩ* < *\*aji* occurs after all back vowels, but after a syllable with *o* the diphthong *aⱩ* is replaced by *oⱩ*. Besides, the diphthong *aⱩ* is realized as *eⱩ* or *ɛ* and even *ē* (the latter occurs with the preceding consonant palatalized).

The diphthong *eⱩ* occurs in Dagur after syllables containing any front vowel, but on the other hand, it is frequently realized as *ɛⱩ* (*ɛ* or *ē*). Consequently, *eⱩ* (*ɛ* and *ē*) is neutral from the point of view of vocalic harmony.

Examples: Dag. *daryai* 'always' < Ma. *daruxai* id.

Dag. *moyoi* < *\*moyaⱩ* 'snake'.

Dag. *ābeⱩ* < *\*abaⱩ* 'he will be'.

Dag. *gəlbej* ~ *gəlbə* < \*kelebej 'he will say'.

Dag. *tarxagānə* 'strike!'

Dag. *taŋlē* < \*taŋlai 'hare'.

Dag. *ořē* < \*oraj 'evening'.

Dag. *kundē* < \*köndej 'sphere'.

(b) In Mogol the vowel \*a often results in o or ö and the latter two vowels do not have any labializing influence upon the diphthong \*aj. On the other hand, the vowel a results in ö also in the non-initial syllables and, therefore, the long vowel ö can follow a syllable containing the vowel a:

Mog. *alō* 'motley, dappled' < Turkic *ala* id.

Mog. *arōsun* 'skin' = Mo. *arasun* id.

The diphthong \*aj < \*aji does not occur as aj in the non-initial syllables in Mogol and Monguor. It becomes ej in Mogol and ē in Monguor in all positions and has converged with \*ei, thus being a vowel indifferent from the point of view of vocalic harmony:

Mog. *arfej* 'barley', Mong. *šbē* id. = Mo. *arbaj*, Urd. *arwā*, Kh. *arwōē* id.

Mog. *yōqej* 'hog', Mong. *χaqē* id. = Mo. *yaqaq*, Urd. *gaxā*, Kh. *gaxōē* id.

Mog. *noqej* 'dog', Mong. *noχuē* id. = Mo. *noqaq*, Urd. *noχō*, Al.B *noχō* id.

Mog. *sisgej* 'felt', Mong. *sgē* id. = Mo. *isegej*, Urd. *esegī*, Kh. *issagī*, Al.B *hejē*, Kalm. *iškē* id.

Mong. *χaliege* 'butterfly' = Mo. *erbekej* < \*herbegekej, Kh. *erwēχī* id.

(c) In Oirat dialects and particularly in the Kalmuck language the group \*aji constituting the non-initial syllables results in ā in back vocalic stems in the Dörbet dialect, while it is ā in the Torgut dialect. In front vocalic stems its equivalent is ε.

Dörb. *gaxā* 'hog', Torg. *gaxā* id. = Mo. *yaqaq* id.

Dörb. *noχā* 'dog', Torg. *noχā* id. = Mo. *noqaq* id.

Dörb. and Torg. *erke* 'thumb' = Mo. *erekej* < \*herekej, Kh. *erχī* id.

Dörb. and Torg. *költe* 'having feet' = Mo. *költej*, Kh. *χöltē* id.

(d) The group *\*aji* has developed into *ā* in Urdus and in the Alar dialect of the Buriat language. In front vocalic stems the corresponding group was *\*eji* which developed into *ī* in Urdus. Under the influence of the vowel *o* of the initial syllable the group *\*aji* results in *ā* in Urdus, while both in Urdus and Alar the vowel *ō* (*v*) of the initial syllable has no influence at all.

In Khalkha, Khori, and Aga the group *\*aji* constituting a non-initial syllable results in *ōē*. The latter remains also after *o* of the initial syllable. The corresponding group in front vocalic stems is *\*eji* which results in *ī*, but in the dialect of the Alar Buriats it is represented by *ē* in unstressed syllables.

Urd. *qaxā* 'hog', Al.B *qaxā* id. = Mo. *yaqaⱫ*, Kh. *qaxōē*, Kh.B *qaxōē* ~ *qaxā* id.

Urd. *noχā* 'dog', Al.B *noχō* id. = Mo. *noqai*, Kh., Kh.B *noχōē* id.

Urd. *ereχī* 'thumb', Kh. *erχī*, Kh.B *erχī* id. = Mo. *erekej*, Al.B *erχē* id.

Urd. *ösögi* 'heel', Kh. *išgī* id. = Mo. *ösögej* < *\*ösegej*, Al.B *huugei* id.

44. Summarizing the above statements concerning the vocalic harmony of long vowels and the group *\*aji* in the non-initial syllables in modern languages, the following correspondences can be established:

The vocalism of the  
first syllable:

*a* or *u*

The vocalism of the suffix:

*\*aji*

*aj̥*

*aj̥*

*aj̥ ej̥ εj̥ ē*

*εj̥*

*ē*

*ā* (Dörb.) *ā* (Torg.)

*ā*

*vē*

	Bur. <i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i>
o	AM * <i>aya</i>	* <i>aji</i>
	Mo. <i>aya</i>	<i>a᷻</i>
	MMo. <i>a᷻a</i> ( <i>ā</i> )	<i>a᷻</i>
	Dag. <i>ā</i>	<i>o᷻ e᷻ ε e᷻</i>
	Mog. <i>ā</i>	<i>e᷻</i>
	Mong. <i>ā</i>	<i>ē</i>
	Kalm. <i>ā</i>	<i>ā</i> (Dörb.) <i>ā</i> (Torg.)
	Urd. <i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>
	Kh. <i>ō</i>	<i>vō</i>
	Bur. <i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>
e ü (u)	AM * <i>ege</i>	* <i>eji</i>
	Mo. <i>ege</i>	<i>e᷻</i>
	MMo. <i>e᷻e</i> ( <i>ē</i> )	<i>e᷻</i>
	Dag. <i>ē</i> ( <i>ē</i> )	<i>ē</i>
	Mog. <i>ā</i>	<i>e᷻</i>
	Mong. <i>ā</i>	<i>ē e</i>
	Kalm. <i>ε</i>	<i>ε</i>
	Urd. <i>ē</i>	<i>i</i>
	Kh. <i>ē</i>	<i>i</i>
	Bur. (Al.) <i>ē</i>	<i>ē</i>
ō (ö)	AM. * <i>ege</i>	* <i>eji</i>
	Mo. <i>ege</i>	<i>e᷻</i>
	MMo. <i>e᷻e</i> ( <i>ē</i> )	<i>e᷻</i>
	Dag. <i>ē</i> ( <i>ē</i> )	<i>ē</i>
	Mog. <i>ā</i>	<i>e᷻</i>
	Mong. <i>ā</i>	<i>ē</i>
	Urd. <i>ō</i>	<i>vō ~ ō</i>
	Kh. <i>ō</i>	<i>i ~ ō</i>
	Bur. <i>ō</i>	<i>ē</i>

## Consonants

45. The consonants are classified roughly into the following groups:

- (a) labial,
- (b) dental and alveolar,
- (c) palatal,
- (d) velar.

These four groups, in their turn, are classified into plosives (stops), affricates, and spirants.

They are divided into voiced and voiceless consonants.

The Common Mongolian consonant system is shown in the following table.

		Labial	Dental & Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	
					Velar	Deep-ve ar
Stops	Voiceless	* <i>p</i>	* <i>t</i>		* <i>k</i>	* <i>q</i>
	Voiced	* <i>b</i>	* <i>d</i>		* <i>g</i>	* <i>y</i> (* <i>g</i> )
Affricates	Voiceless		* <i>t̚</i>			
	Voiced		* <i>z̚</i>			
Spirants	Voiceless		* <i>s</i> & * <i>š</i>			
	Voiced	* <i>β</i>		* <i>j</i>		
Nasals		* <i>m</i>	* <i>n</i>		* <i>ŋ</i>	
Laterals			* <i>l</i>			
Vibrants			* <i>r</i>			

A comparison of this system with that of any Mongolian language spoken at the present time reveals that the original voiceless stops and affricates are represented now by strong (aspirated) consonants, while the ancient voiced stops and affricates are represented by weak (unaspirated) consonants, i.e., *fortes* versus *lenes*. The weak (i.e., unaspirated) consonants are realized as voiceless in some positions and as voiced in other positions. Besides, a few phonemes exist no longer in most Mongolian languages. They have disappeared completely or they have converged with other phonemes.

### The Labial Consonants

#### *\*p* or *\*φ*

46. In Common Mongolian there was at the beginning of a large number of words a voiceless labial stop (*\*p*) or a bilabial spirant (*\*φ*).

The consonant in question still existed in Common Mongolian, but in Middle Mongolian it had already become *h*, i.e., a laryngal spirant. In most of the Mongolian languages spoken at the present time it has disappeared completely with no trace left, and the stems concerned begin with a vowel.

The spirant *f* < *\*φ* is preserved at the present time in the Monguor language where it occurs before *ä* < *\*o*, before *ö* (< *\*o* or *\*ö*), *u* (< *\*u* or *\*ü*), and before *ü* (< *\*uyu*) (a); it is represented by *χ* before *a*, *e*, *ē*, and also before *u* < *\*o* (b); it has become *š* before *\*i* (c); and it has developed into *s* or *š* immediately before another consonant (d).

In Shera Yögur and in San Tch'uan it is always *h*.

In the Tsitsikar dialect of the Dagur language (in the Nonni valley) explored by IVANOVSKY, it is always *χ*, but in the Hailar dialect of the Dagur language it has disappeared.

In Middle Mongolian it was *h*; in Mogol, Urdus, Kharchin, Chakhar, Khalkha, Buriat, Kalmuck, etc. it has disappeared with no trace.

(a) CM *\*pon* or *\*φon* 'year' (cf. Ma. *fon* 'time', Korean *pom*

'spring'), Mong. *fän* 'year', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hon*, San Tch'uan *hüan*, Dag.Iv. *χuan*, Dag.Hailar *oŋ* id. = Mo., Urd., Kalm. *on*, Kh., Bur. *oŋ* id.

CM \**podun* or \**φodun* 'star', Mong. *födi*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hodun*, Shera Yögur *hotun*, San Tch'uan *hotu*, Dag.Iv. *χoto*, Dag.Hailar *od* ~ *oddo* id. = Mo. *odun*, Urd. *udu*, Kh. *oddv*, Bur. *odoŋ*, Kalm. *odŋ* id.

CM \**pödün* or \**φödün* 'feather', Mong. *födi*, MMo. (Mu.) *hödün*, Dag.Hailar *udus* id. = Mo. *ödün*, Urd. *uduu*, Kh. *üdda*, Al.B *üdven*, Kalm. *ödŋ* id.

CM \**puyuta* or \**φuyuta* 'sack', Mong. *füda*, MMo. (H) *huyuta* id. = Mo. *uyuta*, Urd. *üta*, Kh. *ütv*, Kalm. *üv* id.

CM \**pulayan* or \**φulayan* 'red' (cf. Ma. *fulgijan* id.), Mong. *fulān*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *kula'an*, Dag.Iv. *χulā*, Dag.Hailar *ulāŋ* id. = Mo. *ulayan*, Mog. *ulōn*, Urd., Kalm. *ulān*, Kh., Bur. *ulāŋ* id.

CM \**pünir* or \**φünir* 'smell' (cf. Ma. *funsun* 'odor', Goldi *pun* id.), Mong. *funir*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hünir*, Shirongol *χunir* id. = Mo. *ünür*, Urd. *unir*, Kh. *unır*, Bur. *unur*, Kalm. *ünř* id.

(b) CM \**parban* or \**φarban* 'ten', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *harban*, Mong. *χarwan*, Shera Yögur *herwan*, San Tch'uan *harban*, Shirongol *χran*, Dag.Iv. *χarban* id. = Mo. *arban*, Urd. *arwa*, Kh. *arwv*, Bur. *arbaŋ*, Kalm. *arwŋ* id.

CM \**peki* or \**φeki* 'beginning, source, head' (cf. Ma. *fexi* 'brain'), MMo. (SH, Mu.) *heki* id., Mong. *χegi* 'beginning, source', Dag.Iv. *χekii*, Dag.Hailar *eki* id. = Mo. *ekin* 'beginning, head', Mog. *ekin* 'head', Urd. *eχxe* 'source', Kh. *éχxŋ* 'beginning, source', Al.B *qśin* 'source', Kalm. *ekŋ* 'beginning, source'.

CM \**pe-* 'to be dried in the sunshine, to warm oneself', Mong. *χē-* 'to dry in front of a fire or in the sun, to warm oneself' = Mo. *ege-* 'to dry', Urd. *ē-* 'to be warmed', Kh., Kalm. *ē-* 'to bake' (is said of the sun).

CM \**poqar* or \**φoqar* 'short' (cf. Ma. *foχolon* id.), MMo. (Mu.) *hoqar*, Mong. *χuquor* id., Shirongol *χukur* id. = Mo. *oqor* < \**oqar*, Kh. *oxxvṛ*, Bur. *oxor*, Kalm. *oxṛ* id.

(c) CM \**pirü-* or \**φirü-* 'to pray' (cf. Ma. *firu-* id.), MMo. (SH,

P., Mu.) *hirü'er* 'benediction', Mong. *šürö-* 'to say benedictions' = Mo. *irüge-*, Urd. *örö-* id., Kh. *jöröł* 'benediction', Al.B *virör*, Kalm. *jörəł* id.

(d) CM \**pütügün* or \**qütügün* 'vulva', MMo. (Mu.) *hütügün*, Mong. *sdogu* id. = Mo. *ütügün*, Urd. *utuuguu*, Kh. *utaga*, Kalm. *ütgn* id.

CM \**poytal-* or \**qoytal-* 'to cut', MMo. (SH) *hoytol-*, Mong. *sdoli-* < \**htol-* < \**hoytal-* id. = Mo. *oytol-* < \**oytal-*, Urd. *ogtol-*, Kh. *ogtol-*, Al.B *otol-* id.

47. The bilabial \**p* existed in Common Altaic also in the middle of stems. In intervocalic position it became long ago, namely in Pre-Mongolian, a voiced bilabial spirant \**β* which in Common Mongolian converged with \**γ* (or \**g*). In Middle Mongolian \**β* already had disappeared, but the vowels between which it had occurred did not contract into one long vowel (§ 32).

In a few stems \**β* survived and is represented by *b* at the present time.

CM \**qaβa-* 'to close' (cf. Turkic *qapa-* id.), Mo. *qaya-*, MMo. (SH) *qa'a-* 'to encircle, to surround, to close', *qa'alya* 'door', Dag., Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *χā-* 'to close' ~ CM \**qaβ-* in Mo. *qab-qay* 'lid', Urd. *qawχaq*, Kh. *χabχpk*, Kalm. *χawχvq* id.

CM \**deβel* 'robe, coat', Mo. *debel* ~ *degel* id., MMo. (SH) *de'el* ~ (Mu.) *dēl*, Mong. *diēr*, Urd., Kh. *dēl*, Al.B *dęgel*, Kalm. *dewl* id.

#### \**b*

48. The initial consonant \**b* is preserved, as a general rule, in all Mongolian languages. It is voiceless in this position in a few languages, e.g., in Khalkha or Urdus, i.e., it is *b* (a).

It disappears in Monguor only in one word and this is \**bol-* 'to become' (b), but it becomes *p* in Monguor when the second syllable begins with a primary strong consonant (i.e., *fortis*) which, in its turn, has developed into a weak consonant (i.e., *lenis*) (c).

The consonant \**b* easily develops into *w* at the beginning of

stems in various Mongolian languages. This occurs under the influence of its environment in the sentence (sandhi), when the initial \**b* of a word is in intervocalic position, i.e., when the preceding word ends in a vowel (or in the liquid consonant *l* or *r*) (d).

(a) Mo. *bari-* 'to seize', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *bari-* 'to seize, to keep', Dag. *bári-* id., Mong. *bari-* ~ *wari-*, Urd. *bari-*, Kh. *bári-*, Bur. *bári-*, Mog. *bari-*, Kalm. *bär-* id.

Mo. *boro* < \**bora* 'grey', MMo. (SH) *boro* ~ (Mu.) *bora* id., Dag. *bor* in *bortšōχor* 'grey-mottley' (name of a shamanist spirit), Mong., Urd. *boro*, Kh. *born*, Bur. *boro*, Mog. *borō*, Kalm. *borō* id.

Mo. *bulay* 'source, water spring', MMo. (SH) *bulay* ~ (Mu.) *bulaq*, Dag. *bulār*, Mong. *bulaq*, Urd. *bulak*, Kh. *bulvq*, Bur. *bulaq*, Kalm. *bulvq* id.

(b) Mong. *ōli-* 'to become' = Mo. *bol-*, MMo. (SH, P, Mu.), Dag., Urd., Kh., Bur., Mog., Kalm. *bol-* id.

(c) Mong. *paqda-* 'to have enough space' = Mo. *bayta-*, MMo. (Mu.) *baqta-*, Dag. *barta-*, Urd. *bagta-*, Kh. *bagtn-*, Bur. *bagta-*, Mog. *baxta-*, Kalm. *baltn-* id.

Mong. *pudžiag* 'pea' = Mo. *burčay*, MMo. (Mu.) *burčaq*, Urd. *burtšaq*, Kh. *burtvq*, Kalm. *burtvq* id.

(d) Mo. *buč* 'he is', MMo. (SH) *buč* ~ (Mu.) *bi*, Dag. *bči*, Mong. *wi*, Urd., Kh. *bi*, Al.B *bi*, AgaB *bi*, Mog. *bi*, Kalm. *bi* id.

49. The consonant \**b* in final and medial position, particularly in intervocalic position, becomes a bilabial voiced spirant, i.e., *w*. In Mogol it results in *f*. In Dagur it becomes a non-syllabic *u* (and in front vocalic stems it is *u*), i.e., *u* and *w* respectively. The syllable \**bi*, however, remains as such in Dagur. In final position (when closing a syllable) \**b* has become *r* in Dagur as does any consonant closing a syllable.

In Monguor the consonant \**b* in medial position has been preserved only in a few stems (a). In most cases it has disappeared there, whereas before \**i* it has become *j*. Particular developments in Monguor are \**ibe* > *uč*, \**ebe* > *uč* (*ō*) and *i*; \**ibü*, \**ebü*, \**übe*, and \**ubü* have become *ü* (*u*); \**abü* > *ü* (b).

In medial position the consonant \**b* sometimes alternates with *m*

(sometimes under the influence of a nasal consonant) and with *g* in almost all Mongolian languages (c).

After *m* the consonant \**b* becomes *p* in Dagur (d).

(a) Mo. *ab-* 'to take', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ab-*, Dag. *au-*, Mong. *awu-*, Urd. *ab-* ~ *aw-*, Kh. *aw-*, Bur. *ab-* ~ *aw-*, Mog. *aſu-*, Kalm. *aw-* id.

Mo. *qabisun* 'rib', MMo. (H, Mu.) *qabusun*, Dag. *χabirγv* id., Mong. *χawudze* 'side', Mog. *qoburya* 'rib', Urd. *χawisu* 'side', Kh. *χawyrqv* 'rib', Al.B *χawahaŋ* 'rib', Kalm. *χawsŋ* id.

Mo. *tabun* 'five', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *tabun*, Dag. *tāvn*, Mog. *tabun*, Mong. *tāwən*, Urd. *tawu*, Kh. *tawv*, Bur. *tabaŋ*, Kalm. *tawŋ* id.

(b) Mo. *tabin* 'fifty', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *tabin*, Dag. *taví*, Mong. *tajin*, Urd. *tawi*, Kh. *távi*, Bur. *tabiŋ*, Kalm. *táwŋ* id.

Mo. *žibe* 'rust', Mong. *džüē*, Urd. *džiwe*, Kh. *dzewə* id., Al.B *žewər-* 'to rust', Kalm. *zew⁹* 'rust'.

Mo. *teberi-* 'to embrace', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *teberi-*, Dag. *təwřē-*, Mong. *tōri-* ~ *tūer-*, Urd. *tewere-*, Kh. *tēwər-*, Bur. *təbər-*, Kalm. *tewṛ-* id.

Mo. *kəbereg* 'fragile', Mong. *kērig*, Urd. *kewerek*, Kh. *χewərək* id.

Mo. *talbi-* 'to put', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *talbi-* ~ (Mu.) *tabi-*, Dag. *tálvi-* ~ *taví-*, Mong. *tē-* id., Urd. *tawi-*, Kh. *táwv-*, Bur. *tabi-* ~ *taví-*, Mog. *talina* 'he puts', Kalm. *täw-* 'to put'.

Mo. *ebed-* 'to be ill, to be sick', MMo. (SH) *ebečin* 'disease' ~ (Mu.) *ebed-* 'to be ill', Dag. *χwde-* id., Mong. *idi-*, Kh. *īwda-* id.

(c) Mo. *qabar* ~ *qamar* 'nose', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qabar*, Dag. *χamar*, Mong. *χawar*, Urd. *χamar*, Kh., Bur. *χamvr*, Mog. *qabar*, Kalm. *χamr* id.

Mo. *nabči* ~ *namči* 'leaf', *namaya* 'foliage', MMo. (Mu.) *nabčin* 'leaves', Dag. *lartši* 'leaf' ~ *lawā* < \**nabaya* 'rose petal' (or of any flower), Mog. *nōm* 'leaf', Mong. *labšdži* 'leaf', Urd. *nabtši*, Kh. *nabtši*, Al.B *namšahan* 'leaf' ~ Al.B *namā* 'foliage', Kalm. *naptši* ~ *namtši* 'leaf'.

Mo. *jabu-* 'to walk', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *jabu-*, Dag. *jau-* id., Mog. *jobuna* 'he goes', Mong. *jū-* 'to go', Urd. *jawu-*, Kh. *jawv-*, Al.B *jaba-*, Kalm. *jow-* 'to go' ~ Kalm. *jomnā* 'he goes'.

Mo. *ebül* 'winter', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *ibüil*, Dag. *ugul*, Mog. *ebulā* ~ *ubulā*, Mong. *ugur*, Urd. *öwöl*, Kh. *īwal*, Al.B *ibal*, Kalm. *öwł* id.

(d) Mong. *umbu-* 'to swim', Dag. *umpā-* id., Kh. *umbv-* 'to cross a river, to ford'.

*\*m*

50. There was in Common Mongolian a nasal labial consonant *\*m* which occurred both at the beginning of stems and in the middle as well as at the end.

Sometimes the initial *\*m* is a development of an original *\*b*. This occurs usually under the influence of a nasal sound contained in the word concerned.

In general, *\*m* is preserved as such in all Mongolian languages (a). The final *m* alternates sometimes with *n*. In Monguor the final *m* is often replaced with *n* (b).

The final *\*m* of a syllable is assimilated easily to a following dental consonant. In Monguor dental consonants influence the consonant *\*m* immediately preceding. A final *\*m* of a word becomes *n* in Monguor when the word immediately following in the sentence begins with a dental consonant (c).

In a few cases the ancient intervocalic *\*m* (of various origins) disappears in spoken languages (d).

(a) Mo. *mayu* ~ *mayuč* 'evil, bad', MMo. (SH) *ma'uč* id., (P, Mu.) *ma'un* id. (plural) ~ (Mu.) *ma'u* 'evil', Dag. *mō*, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *mū* id.

Mo. *miqan* < *\*mīqan* 'flesh, meat', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *miqan*, Dag. *māya*, Mong. *maχa*, Urd. *maχxa*, Kh. *maχxv*, Bur. *maχan*, Mog. *miqōn*, Kalm. *maχn* id.

Mo. *minu* < *\*binu* genitive of *bi* 'I', MMo. (SH) *minu* (nom. *bi*), Dag. *mīnī* (nom. *bi*), Mong. *muni* (nom. *bu*), Urd. *mini* (nom. *bi*), Kh. *minī* (nom. *bi*), Bur. *mēnī* (nom. *bi*), Mog. *mini* (nom. *bi*), Kalm. *miny* (nom. *bi*) id.

Mo. *sumun* 'arrow', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *sumun*, Dag. *somo*, Mong. *sumu*, Urd. *sumu*, Kh. *sumv*, Al.B *homon*, Kalm. *sumn* id.

Mo. *em* 'medicine, drug', MMo. (Mu.) *em*, Dag. *em*, Urd., Kh. *em*, Bur. *qm*, Kalm. *em* id.

(b) Mo. *nayadum* ~ *nayadun* 'play, game', MMo. (Mu.) *nādum* ~ *nādun*, Dag. *nād* id. < \**nayadun*, Mog. *nōtuna* 'he plays', Mong. *nādin* 'play, game', Urd. *nādam*, Kh. *nādm* ~ *nādv* < \**nayadun*, Bur. *nādaŋ*, Kalm. *nādŋ* ~ *nādŋ* id. It is possible, however, that the forms concerned are derived with two different suffixes, -\**m* and -\**n*, which do exist.

Mo. *tulum* 'a sack made of a hide', MMo. (Mu.) *tulum*, Mong. *tulun*, Urd. *tulum*, Kh. *tullom* id.

Mo. *žarim* 'half', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *žarim*, Mong. *džiärin*, Urd. *džarmin* 'some of them', Kh. *dzär̥im*, Bur. *zařam* 'some', Kalm. *zärŋ* id.

(c) Mo. *qamtu* 'together', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qamtu*, Mong. *χamdu* ~ *χandi*, Mog. *qamtu*, Urd. *χamtu*, Kh. *χamtu*, Bur. *χamta* id.

Mo. *kemžije* 'measure', MMo. (SH) *kem*, Dag. *kəndžē*, Urd. *kemdžē*, Kh. *χemdžē*, Bur. *χemžē*, Kalm. *kemdžen* id.

(d) Mo. *keme-* < \**keñe-* (cf. Turk. *käňäš* 'advice') 'to say, to speak', MMo. (SH, P) *ke'* & id., Mong. *gi-* 'to call', Urd., Kh. *ge-*, Bur. *gę-*, Kalm. *ge-* 'to speak, to say'.

Mo. *küümün* 'person, human being', MMo. (SH) *gū'ün* ~ (P) *k'ü'ün*, Dag. *kū* ~ *küŋ*, Mong. *kun*, Urd. *kun*, Kh. *χun*, Bur. *χun*, Kalm. *kümŋ* ~ *kün* id.

### The Dental and Alveolar Consonants

#### \*t

51. Common Mongolian \**t* was probably a strongly aspirated dental consonant. In the ḥP'ags-pa script it was rendered with a character of Tibetan origin which in the original Tibetan script was used for the aspirated *t'*, e.g., *t'ende* 'there', *t'at'ažu* 'dragging', etc. Like all the other strong consonants \**t* did not occur at the end of syllables or words, and in this position only \**d* occurred.

The consonant \**t* remains *t* in most Mongolian languages not only at the beginning of words but also in medial position.

In Khalkha, Urdus, Chakhar, Kharchin, and some other languages it is strongly aspirated.

(A) At the beginning of words *t* has in East Mongolian an aspirated recursion, i.e., it is *t'*. In the middle of words it has an aspirated recursion and incursion, i.e., it is *t̪*. When the final vowel of a stem is dropped in fast speech, a medial *t̪* enters the final position (this is not, however, the absolute end) and then it has only an aspirated incursion in Khalkha, i.e., it is *t̪*.

In other Mongolian languages the consonant \**t* is less aspirated or it is not aspirated at all, e.g., in the Aga, Tsongol, and Sartul dialects of Buriat it is aspirated (*t'*, *t̪*, *t̪*), but in the dialects Alar, Ekhirit, and in all the other West Buriat dialects, and also in Kal-muck it is not aspirated at all.

The consonant \**t* does not occur before \**i* (or \**î*), because in this position it became \**č* in Pre-Mongolian. Thus Common Mongolian already had the syllable \**či* where Common Altaic had had \**ti* (a).

When the second syllable of a stem begins with a strong (or voiceless) consonant, i.e., with \**t*, \**č*, \**s*, \**š*, \**q*, or \**k*, the initial consonant \**t* of a short syllable is not aspirated in North Khalkha, West Khalkha, and Central Khalkha, i.e., in the region of the city of Ulan Bator, north of it up to the Russian frontier, and west of it to the rivers Orkhon and Selenga, and from there almost to the territory of the Oirat dialects. Thus in the area defined instead of *t'a't'vχv* 'to drag' only *ta't'vχv* is pronounced.

When the initial syllable is closed by a nasal consonant (i.e., *n*, *ŋ*, *m*) the initial \**t* is aspirated there. When the syllable is closed by another consonant (\**b*, \**d*, \**s*, \**r*, \**γ*, \**g*) it is again unaspirated.

In South East and South Khalkha (Gobi Khalkha), in some Chakhar dialects, and also in Urduus the consonant \**t* before a strong or voiceless consonant of the second syllable becomes *d*, i.e., a voiceless *v* (weak, lenis). In monosyllabic stems \**t* remains *t* before a voiceless consonant (e.g., \**s*) (b).

The sonorization of \**t* (\**t* > *d*) at the beginning of words, which occurs under the conditions enumerated above has nothing in common with the sonorization in Middle Mongolian: cf. P *dēŋri* 'heaven' = Kh. *tengər* id.; P *dojid* 'Buddhist monks' = Kh. *točη* 'Buddhist monk of noble origin'.

In Monguor the initial \**t* results in *d* in a limited number of words containing the consonant *s* in one of the syllables. It is not certain whether this is a case of dissimilation *t* — *s* > *d* — *s* (c).

Before a secondary *i* and, in general when palatalized, the consonant \**t* becomes *tš*. This occurs in Urdus (rarely) and in Monguor (more frequently) (d).

(a) Mo., MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ta* 'you', Dag. *ta*, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *ta*, Mog. *to* (*tod*) id.

Mo. *toya* 'number', MMo. (SH) *to'a* ~ (SH) *to'o* ~ (Mu.) *to'an*, Dag. *tō*, Mong. *tōr*, Urd., Kh., Bur. *tō*, Mog. *toa*, Kalm. *tōn* id.

Mo. *toor* 'net', MMo. (IM) *tor*, Mong. *tōr*, Urd., Kh., Mog., Kalm. *tor* id.

Mo. *tabun* 'five', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *tašun* ~ (P) *t'abun*, Dag. *tāwη*, Mong. *tāwēn*, Urd. *tawu*, Kh. *tawp*, Bur. *taban*, Mog. *tabun*, Kalm. *tawŋ* id.

(b) Mo. *toqo-* < \**toqa-* 'to saddle', MMo. (SH) *toqu'ul-* 'to put the saddle on' ~ (Mu.) *toqo-* 'to saddle', Mong. *tugu-*, Urd. *doχo-*, Kh. *toχχv-* ~ Kh. South *doχχv-*, Bur. *toχo-*, Kalm. *toχ-* id.

Mo. *toyta-* 'to stop, to establish himself', MMo. (SH) *toyta-* ~ (Mu.) *toqta-*, Dag. *torta-*, Urd. *dogto-*, Kh. *toχta-*, Kh. South *dogtv-*, Bur. *togto-*, Kalm. *toktə-* 'to stand firmly'.

(c) Mong. *dagsera-* 'to be broken' = Mo. *tasura-*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *tasura-*, Dag. *tasar-*, Urd. *dasur-*, Kh. *tassur-*, Kh. South *dassur-*, Bur. *tahara-*, Kalm. *tasr-* id.

Mong. *diese-* 'to tolerate' = Mo. *tes-*, Dag. *teṣ-*, Urd. *des-*, Kh. *tes-*, Kh. South *des-*, Kalm. *tes-* id.

Mong. *dusā* 'use, usefulness' = Mo. *tusa*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *tusa*, Dag. *toso*, Urd. *dusa*, Kh. *tussv*, Kh. South *tuusv*, Bur. *tuha*, Kalm. *tusu* id.

(d) Urd. *tšim* 'so' = Mo. *tejimü* 'such', MMo. (SH) *tejimü* ~ (Mu.) *tejin* 'so, thus', Dag. *tejmer* 'such one', Kh. *tim*, Bur. *time*, Kalm. *timə* id.

Mong. *tšida-* 'to pull' = Mo. *tata-*, MMo. (SH) *tata-* ~ (P) *t'at'a-*, Dag. *tata-*, Urd. *data-*, Kh. *tatv-*, Kh. South *satv-*, Bur. *tata-* id., Mog. *tatana* 'he pulls', Kalm. *tatv-* 'to pull'.

Mong. *tšidžiē-* 'to feed, to bring up', Urd. *tšidē-* ~ *tedžē-* id. = Mo. *težije-*, MMo. (SH) *teži'e-* ~ (Mu.) *težē-*, Dag. *tədžē-*, Kh. *tedžē-*, Bur. *təžē-*, Kalm. *tedžē-* id.

(B) In medial position, i.e., in the middle of words, the consonant \**t* usually results in *t*. In intervocalic position on the boundary between the initial and second syllable the consonant \**t* becomes *d* (*v*) in Monguor. This development of the consonant \**t* occurs also after \**l* or \**r* in Monguor. The sonorization of \**t* in Monguor is accompanied by another phenomenon, namely the development of the initial weak consonant into a strong one, i.e., \**d* > *t*.

Mo. *tata-* 'to pull', MMo. (SH) *tata-* ~ (P) *t'at'a-*, Dag. *tata-*, Urd. *data-*, Kh. *tatv-*, Bur. *tata-* id., Mog. *tatana* 'he pulls', Kalm. *tatv-* 'to pull' = Mong. *tšida-* 'to pull'.

Mo. *buta* 'bush', Urd. *buta*, Kh. *butv*, Bur. *buta* id. = Mong. *buda* id.

Mo. *uyuta* 'sack', MMo. (H) *huyuta*, Urd. *ūta*, Kh. *ūtv* id. = Mong. *fūda* id.

Mo. *qata-* 'to become dry, to harden', MMo. (Mu.) *qata-*, Dag. *χata-*, Urd. *qata-*, Kh. *χatv-*, Kh. South *gatv-*, Bur. *χata-*, Kalm. *χatv-* = Mong. *χadā-* id.

Mo. *dotor* < \**dotara* 'in, within', Urd. *dotor*, Kh. *dotvər* id. = Mong. *tudor* id.

Mo. *sitaya-* 'to set on fire', Kh. *šatv-* 'to burn, to catch fire', Bur. *šata-* id. = Mong. *sdā-* id.

Mo. *altan* 'gold', Urd. *alta*, Kh. *altv*, Bur. *altan*, Kalm. *altn* id. = Mong. *χardam* id.

Mo. *umarta-* 'to forget', Urd. *marta-*, Kh. *martv-* id. = Mong. *musdā-* id.

#### \**d*

52. Common Mongolian \**d* was a voiceless weak consonant (*media lenis*), i.e. *v*. It is voiceless in all positions in Dagur, Monguor, Kharchin, Chakhar, Urdus, Khalkha, and in the dialects Tsongol and Sartul of Buriat, and also in Bargu Buriat. In all the remaining

Buriat dialects and in Kalmuck it is voiced at the beginning of words and in intervocalic position.

The consonant \*d results in such different sounds in various positions that they have to be discussed separately.

(A) The consonant \*d at the beginning of words is always voiceless in Dagur, Monguor, Urdus, Chakhar, Kharchin, and Khalkha, i.e., it is *d*, but it is voiced in Buriat and in West Mongolian, i.e., in Mogol, Oirat, and Kalmuck (a).

In Monguor \*d has resulted in *t* at the beginning of words when the strong aspirated consonant on the boundary of the initial and the second syllable becomes a weak consonant, i.e., *d* — *t* > *t* — *d*. This phenomenon is ancient and in Middle Mongolian there are cases in which the initial consonant \*d before a syllable beginning with *t* or *s* has become *t* (b).

In a few cases initial \*d becomes *t* in West Buriat dialects (c) and when palatalized it becomes *j* (d).

(a) Mo. *daru-* 'to press', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *daru-*, Dag. *dara-*, Mong. *dāri-*, Urd. *daru-*, Kh. *darn-*, Bur. *dara-* id., Mog. *darunā* 'he squeezes', Kalm. *dara-* 'to squeeze'.

Mo. *degere* 'on, above', MMo. (SH, P) *de'ree* ~ (Mu.) *dēre*, Dag. *dēr*, Mong. *dere*, Urd. *dēre*, Kh. *dērə*, Bur. *dērə*, Mog. *dērā*, Kalm. *dērə* id.

(b) Mo. *dutayu* 'insufficient, lacking, incomplete', MMo. (SH) *duta'u* ~ (Mu.) *dutū* ~ (Mu.) *tutū* id., Dag. *dotō-* 'to leave', Mong. *tudū* 'insufficient', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *dutū* 'insufficient', Mog. *dutōna* 'he flees'.

Mo. *dotora* < \**dotara* 'in, within', MMo. (SH) *dotora* ~ (P) *dot'ora* ~ (Mu.) *dotara* ~ (Mu.) *totara*, Dag. *d̥atar*, Mong. *tudor* ~ *turo*, Urd. *dotor*, Kh. *dotvər*, Bur. *dosō*, Mog. *dotōna*, Kalm. *dot̥id*.

Mo. *döčin* 'forty', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *döčin*, Dag. *duťši*, Mong. *tiesžin*, Urd. *dötši*, Kh. *düši*, Al.B *döšen*, Kh.B *dušen*, Kalm. *dötšn* id.

(c) Mo. *daŋqa* 'tea pot', Kh. *daŋχv*, Al.B *taŋχv*, Kalm. *daŋχn* id.

(d) Mo. *debis-* ~ *debüs-* 'to spread out a rug or a carpet', MMo. (SH, IM) *debüs-* ~ (Mu.) *debis-*, Dag. *dəvəse-*, Mong. *düēse-*, Urd.

*dewes-*, Kh. *dewəs-*, Al.B *jebəššə* 'spreading' < \**debisčü*, Kalm. *dewsə-* 'to spread out'.

Mo. *debtege-* 'to make wet', Mong. *tudiē-*, Urd. *debtē-*, Kh. *dewtē-*, Al.B *jebtē-*, Kalm. *devte-* id.

53. (B) In the middle of words, in intervocalic position on the boundary between the initial and the second syllable, the consonant \**d* is geminated (long) in Khalkha, i.e., *dd*. In Dagur, Monguor, and Urdus it is voiceless, i.e., *d* (a).

In Middle Mongolian and in the Ekhirit and Aga dialects of the Buriat language \**d* in intervocalic position, on the boundary between the initial and second syllable, in words ending in -\**sun* becomes *t*. In Kalmuck it disappears. Probably it was first assimilated to *s*, i.e., *d + sun > ssun > sun*. This is an old phenomenon and occurs in Mogol and also in the Western dialects of Middle Mongolian represented in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (b).

In Dagur in rare cases \**d > t* in intervocalic position in words beginning with the voiceless spirant *χ < \*q*. This is a result of assimilation: the weak consonant after a voiceless has become strong (c).

A peculiar development is that of \**d > r* in the vicinity of the consonant *l* in Dagur and in the dialects of the Mongols of the banners Gorlos and Jostu. This is a kind of rhotacism (*dl > rl*) (d).

A particular case is the Common Mongolian alternation \**d ~ dž*. The result is that a word may have *d < \*d* in one dialect but another dialect (or language) may have *dž* (or *dz* or *ž* or *z*) in the same word (e).

(a) Mo. *čida-* 'to be able', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *čida-*, Dag. *šada-*, Mong. *sda-*, Urd. *tšida-*, Kh. *tšaddv-*, Bur. *šada-*, Kalm. *tšadə-* id.

Mo. *jada-* 'to be unable', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *jada-* id., Mong. *idā-* 'to be tired, to be exhausted', Dag., Urd. *jada-* 'to be unable', Kh. *jaddv-*, Bur. *jada-* id.

Mo. *ide-* 'to eat', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ide-*, Mong. *idie-*, Dag. *ide-*, Urd. *ide-*, Kh. *iddə-*, Bur. *qde-* id., Mog. *idānā* 'he eats', Kalm. *idə-* 'to eat'.

(b) Mo. *yadasun* 'pale, post, peg', MMo. (Mu.) *qatasun*, Mong. *gadasə* 'nail, wedge', Urd. *gadusu*, Kh. *gaddvəs*, Ekh.B, Bur. Ol'khon and AgaB *gatahanə*, Al.B *gudahanə*, Kalm. *qassə* id.

Mo. *gedesün* 'intestines', MMo. (Mu.) *getesün* ~ *gesüsün*, Dag.

*gedes*, Mong. *gidesəq*, Urd. *gediusu*, Kh. *geddəs*, Ekh.B, Ol'khon *guutehən*, AgaB *geteħən*, Mog. *gesān*, Kalm. *gesŋ* id.

(c) Mo. *qadaya-la-* 'to save, to preserve', MMo. (SH) *qadaγala-*, Dag. *χataqlā-*, Urd. *χadagala-*, Kh. *χaddvqvl-*, Kalm. *χadvγl-* id.

Mo. *qodoyodu* < \**qoduyadu* 'inner organs', Dag. *χotōd*, Urd. *χodōdu*, Kh. *χodōdv*, Bur. *χodōdo*, Kalm. *χot⁹* id.

(d) Mo. *qudaldu-* 'to sell', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qudaldu-*, Mong. *dārdi-*, Khar. *χwadw-* (*χualdw-*), Urd. *χudalda-*, Gorlos and Jostu *χurld-*, Kh. *χuddvldw-*, Bur. *χudalda-*, Kalm. *χuld⁹-* (with -\**d*- disappearing).

Mo. *ojodal* < \**ojadal* 'seam', Dag. *oīrl*, Kh. *ojjidvl* id.

(e) MMo. (SH) *qada'ar* ~ (Mu.) *qadār* 'bridle', Dag. *χadāla*, Mong. *qadar*, Mog. *qadār* < \**qadayar* id. ~ Mo. *qažayar* < \**qažiyar*, Urd. *χadžār*, Kh. *χadzār*, Bur., Kalm. *χazār* id.

Mo. *yadaya* 'outside', MMo. (SH) *yadā* id. ~ (Mu.) *yadādu* 'outer', Dag. *qād* 'out', Mong. *qada* 'outside', Urd., Kh. *qādā* id. ~ \**yažaya* < \**yažiya* < \**yadīya*: Bur. and Kalm. *qazā* id.

Mo. *anžisun* 'plough', MMo. (Mu.) *anžasun*, Mong. *ndžiäšəq*, Urd. *andžasu* ~ *andus*, Kh. *andzs*, Bur. *anzahan* id. ~ \**andasqa* > Kalm. *andvsχv* id.

Mo. *qaduyur* 'sickle', MMo. (Mu.) *qadūr*, Mong. *qadir*, Urd., Kh. *χadūr*, Kalm. *χadūr* id. ~ \**qažiyur* > AgaB *χažūr* id., Kalm. *χadž* 'the edge of a halberd'.

54. (C) The final \**d* of the stem or syllable has developed in many different ways. At the end of a syllable it is voiceless in all Mongolian languages, i.e., it is *d*. It is still more voiceless at the end of a non-initial syllable and also before voiceless consonants. In these positions it is *t*, which is not aspirated however (a).

At the end of a syllable or word the consonant \**d* has become *r* in Dagur. The statement concerning the development \**d* > *l* in Dagur, made in my book on the Dagur language (see p. 11, n. 2) is not correct and the example Dag. *nidžēl* 'singuli', SH *nizi'el* id. = Mo. *nižiged* should be explained in another manner. The form \**nizi'gel* 'singuli' has the suffix *-gel* and Mo. *nižiged* is formed by analogy with *yurbayad* 'terni' and the latter is a regular plural in *-d* of \**yurbayal*. Thus, there is no development \**d* > *l* (b).

The final \*d of a syllable or word alternated with \*s in Ancient Mongolian. This alternation reflects the final \*č. In consequence of this alternation there are sometimes in one and the same language parallel forms with d and s, or one language has d and another language has the consonant s in the same word (c).

The final \*d of a stem, when entering the intervocalic position (e.g., before a suffix), becomes a laryngal h in the Alar dialect and certain other West Buriat dialects. In Tsongol it becomes s. Before \*i it becomes š in the Barguzin and Aga dialects (d).

A final \*d of a syllable disappears before a homoorganic consonant or is assimilated to the latter (e).

(a) Mo. *udqa* 'meaning, sense, signification; shamanist tradition, origin of a shaman' (cf. *udem* 'origin'), Urd. *udχa* 'signification, sense, meaning', Kh. *udχv* id., Al.B *udχa* 'shamanist tradition', Kalm. *utχv* id.

Mo. čad- 'to be satisfied, to satiate oneself', MMo. (Mu.) čatba 'he became satisfied, he satiated himself', Mong. čiädi- 'to satiate oneself', Urd. tšad-, Kh. tsad-, Bur. sada- id., Mog. tsatqalyaná 'he satiates, he satisfies', Kalm. tsad- 'to satiate oneself'.

(b) Mo. *qadqu-* 'to sting, to prick', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qatqu-*, Dag. *χarχu-*, Mong. *gasgu-*, Urd. *qadχu-*, Kh., Bur., Kalm. *χadχv-* id.

Mo. kečked 'children', MMo. (Mu.) ke'üt 'sons', Dag. kečker 'child, children', Urd. kūčχed, Kh. χūχət 'children', Mog. köwkat 'children', Kalm. kük'd id.

(c) Mo. *ded* ~ *des* 'the following, the next', Urd. *ded*, Kh. *ded* ~ *des*, Kalm. *ded* id.

Mo. *nayad-* ~ *nayas-* 'to play', MMo. (Mu.) *nādu-*, Dag. *nāda-*, Mong. *nādi-*, Urd. *nād-*, Kh. *nād-* ~ *nās-*, Bur. *nāda-*, Kalm. *nād-* id.

Mo. *eske-* < \*ečke- 'to cut', MMo. (SH) *edke-* id. ~ (Mu.) *hečke-*, Mong. *dige-*, Urd. *eske-*, Kh. *esχə-* id., Mog. *etqānā* 'he cuts'.

(d) Mo. *ed* 'goods, wares', Urd., Kh. *ed*, Al.B *ēd* id. ~ Al.B *ēhē* (acc. of the refl. possessive decl.).

Mo. *bolod* < \*bolad 'steel' (< Persian), Urd. *bolod*, Kh. *bollvt*, Al.B *bulat* id. ~ *bulahījə* (acc.), Ts.B. *bolosōr* (instr.).

Mo. *morid* 'horses', Ts.B *morit* id. ~ *morisōr* (instr.), AgaB *morishi* (acc.).

(e) Mo. *od-* 'to go away', Kalm. *od-*, Kh. *otš?- < \*odči-* id.

Mo. *oči* < *\*odči* 'spark' (cf. Turk. *ot* 'fire'), cf. Mo. *odqan* the name of the spirit of the fire (< *od* + *qan* 'khan').

Mo. *čad-* 'to satiate oneself', Kh. *tsad-* id., Al.B *sad-* ~ *sada-* id., Al.B *sasrā* < *\*sadčara* = Mo. *čadtala* 'until he was satisfied'.

#### \*č

55. The Common Mongolian affricate \*č was a palato-alveolar affricate (roughly = English *ch*). We shall discuss it first at the beginning of stems.

In Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian it is always č. It remains as tš (= č) in Dagur where it is strongly aspirated as in most of the remaining Mongolian languages. At the beginning of words it occurs with an aspirated recursion (i.e., it is t's) in Dagur and it has an aspirated recursion and incursion in the middle of words (i.e., it is t's). In Dagur it is often palatalized, i.e., it is tſ, particularly before the vowel i. At the beginning of many words it has become š in Dagur. This development occurs also in the dialects of Durbut Beise, Gorlos, and Jostu.

The affricate \*č remains as such also in Mogol and in Urdus. At the beginning of words the second syllable of which begins with a strong or voiceless consonant and the initial syllable of which is short, the consonant \*č results in dž in Urdus.

In Urat and Chakhar it is tš. In Kharchin it remains tš only before \*i, but before all the other vowels (i.e., before \*a, \*o, \*u, etc.) it has become an apico-alveolar tſ.

In Oirat and Kalmuck it remains tš before \*i but results in ts before all the remaining vowels. An exception is the dialect of the Kalmucks living in the area called Chornye Zemli (»The Black Soils«) near the Caspian Sea in the former Kalmuck Republic, where tš remains in all positions.

In Khalkha tš remains before \*i but it has become ts in all other

positions. Exceptions are, however, the numerous cases in which  $*i$  has become  $u$  in consequence of the »breaking«: there  $*č$  has also become  $ts$  and not  $tš$ . In South Khalkha dialects (Gobi dialects)  $tš$  and  $ts$  become  $dž$  and  $dz$  respectively in the same positions in which sonorization takes place in Urdus.

The development of the affricate  $*č-$  before  $*i$  into  $ts$  in Khalkha occurs before the vowel  $*u$  of the following syllable, e.g., Kh.  $tsus$  <  $*čisun$  'blood', or in cases in which the vowel  $*i$  of the initial syllable was followed immediately by  $*q$  or  $*γ$ , e.g., Kh.  $tsānn$  <  $*čiyana$  'on that side', Kh.  $tsuχχvl$  <  $*čiqul$  <  $*tīqul$  'anger', etc. It is possible that  $*i$  followed by a deep velar consonant remained as  $i$  longer than in other positions and did not palatalize the initial  $*č$ .

In Monguor the affricate  $*č$  has become a strongly palatalized  $tš$  which occurs before  $i$ . Between  $tš$  and vowels other than  $i$  an intermediate  $i$  is inserted (e.g.,  $tšiā$ ). When followed by another vowel without the  $i$  glide the consonant  $*č$  becomes an apico-alveolar  $ts$  (= Chinese *tch*) in Monguor, but before  $e$  the pronunciation  $ts$  prevails over  $tš$ .

In the Tsongol and Sartul dialects of the Buriat language the affricate  $*č$  remains  $tš$  before  $*i$  but develops into  $ts$  before other vowels. In all remaining Buriat dialects  $*č$  has become  $š$  before  $*i$ , while it is  $s$  before all remaining vowels. In Aga the consonant  $s$  is often pronounced as an interdental spirant  $θ$  (= English voiceless *th* in *thing*). In Khori, Barguzin, Unga, Bokhan, Alar, and Ekhirit dialects the consonant  $*č$  has resulted in  $š$  before  $*i$  and in  $s$  before all other vowels.

Summarizing, we may show the developments of the initial  $*č$  in the following table:

(A) Before $*i$ :	(B) Before other vowels:
Mo., MMo. $č$ ,	$č$ ,
Dagur (a) $tš \sim tš$ ,	$tš \sim tš$ ,
(b) $š \sim š$ ,	
Monguor $tš$ ,	$tši, ts, ts,$

Mogol	<i>tš</i> ,	<i>tš</i> ,
Urdus	<i>tš</i> ,	<i>tš</i> ,
	<i>dž</i> before a short vowel followed by a strong consonant,	<i>dž</i> (as in the case A),
<b>Chakhar and</b>		
Urat	<i>tš</i> ,	<i>tš</i> ,
Kharchin	<i>tš</i> ,	<i>tš</i> ,
North Khalkha	<i>tš</i> ,	<i>ts</i> ,
	<i>ts</i> before *i > u,	
South Khalkha	<i>tš</i> ( <i>ts</i> before *i > u), <i>dž</i> ( <i>dz</i> before *i > u) in the same position as *č > dž in Urdus,	<i>ts</i> , <i>dz</i> in the same position as *č > dž in Urdus,
<b>Bur.Tsongol and</b>		
Sartul	<i>tš</i> ,	<i>ts</i> ,
Bur.Aga	<i>š</i> ,	<i>v</i> ,
The remaining Buriat dialects	<i>š</i> ,	<i>s</i> ,
Kalmuck	<i>tš</i> ,	<i>ts</i> .

## (A)

(a) Mo. čilayun 'stone', MMo. (SH) čilao'un ~ (P) čila'un, Dag. tšolō, Urd., Khar. tšilū, Urat tšulū, Durbut Beise šolō, Jostu šulūn, Kh. tšulū, Ts.B tšulū, BB šulū, AgaB šulūŋ, Kalm. tšolūn id.

Mo. čisun 'blood', MMo. (SH, Mu.) čisun, Dag. tšos, Mong. tsədzu, Urd. džusu, Khar. tšus, NKh. tsus, SouthKh. dzus, Ts.B tšoso, BB šuhv, AgaB, Al.B šuhan, Mog. tšusun, Kalm. tšusŋ id.

(b) Mo., MMo. (SH, Mu.) či 'you', Dag. či (gen. čini, acc. čamai, etc.), Mong. tši, Urd., Khar., Urat, Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B tši, AgaB, Al.B či, Durbut Beise, Gorlos, Jostu či, Mog. tši, Kalm. tši id.

Mo. čimügen 'marrow', MMo. (Mu.) čimegen, Dag. čimug ~ čumug 'leg bone', Mong. tšimuge 'arm', Urd. tšömögö 'marrow', Kh. tšimaga, Al.B səməggen, Kalm. tšimŋŋ 'marrow'.

Mo. *čiraj* 'face', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *čiraj*, Dag. *šarai*, Mong. *čirī*, Urd. *tšarā*, Durbut Beise *širäj*, Kh. *tšarvē* ~ *tsarvē*, BB *šarvē*, Al.B *šarā*, Kalm. *tšire* id.

## (B)

Mo. *čayan* < \*čayayan 'white', MMo. (SH) *čaya'an* ~ (P) *č'aqa'an*, Dag. *tšiyān*, Mong. *tšigān*, Urd. *tšagān*, Urat *tšagān*, Khar. *tsagān*, Durbut Beise *sagān*, Jostu *šagān*, Kh. *tsagān*, Ts.B *tsagān*, AgaB *čagān*, Al.B *sagān*, Kalm. *tsayān* id.

Mo. *časun* 'snow', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *časun*, Dag. *tšas*, Mong. *čiäse*, Mog. *tšosun*, Urd. *džasu*, Urat, Ch. *tšas*, Khar. *tsassv*, Durbut Beise *sat*, NKh. *tsassv*, SouthKh. *dzassv*, AgaB *čahan*, BB *sahv*, Al.B *sahan*, Kalm. *tsasñ* id.

56. The final \*č of a syllable or a word long ago developed into *d* (*t*) ~ *s*, but there are traces of \*č in Middle Mongolian:

Mo. *eske-* < \*pečke- 'to cut', MMo. (SH, H) *edke-* ~ (Mu.) *hečke-* id., Mog. *etqānā* 'he cuts', Mong. *dige-*, Urd. *eske-*, Kh. *esχə-* 'to cut'.

Mo. *ös* 'hatred' = Turk. *öč* id.

The consonant \*č in intervocalic position or between a consonant and a vowel has developed analogically to \*č in the initial position. The only difference is that in Urdus and Gobi Khalkha the sonorization (\*č > dž) does not take place. In Monguor sonorization of \*č occurs also in the middle of words. This occurs in cases in which the ancient initial weak consonant becomes a strong one.

Before \*i the consonant \*č remains *tš* (or *š* in other languages) (a) and before a vowel other than \*i it results in *ts* (or in Buriat *s*) (b).

(a) Mo. *ačijan* 'load', MMo. (SH) *ači'an* ~ (Mu.) *ača'an* id., Mong. *šažiā*, Urd., Kh. *atšā*, Al.B *ašāñ* id., Mog. *aišinā* 'he loads', Kalm. *atšāñ* 'load'.

Mo. *oči-* < \*odči- 'to go away', Dag. *itši-*, Mong. *šdži-*, Urd. *itši-*, Kh. *otši-*, Al.B *ošo-* id.

Mo. *küčin* ~ *küčün* 'strength', MMo. (SH) *güčün* ~ (P) *k'üčün* ~ (Mu.) *küčin*, Dag. *k'ułši*, Mong. *kudži*, Urd. *gutši*, NKh. *χułši*, Al.B *χušqη*, Kalm. *kütşη* id.

Mo. *bičig* 'letter, writing', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *bičik* ~ (P) *bičig*, Dag. *bitig* < Ma. *bitxe*, Mong. *pudžig*, Urd. *bitšik*, Jostu, Aru Khorchin, Durbut Beise, Gorlos *bišik*, Kh. *bitšik*, Al.B *bęšek*, Mog. *bitšik*, Kalm. *bitšig* id.

(b) Mo. *quča-* 'to bark', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *quča-*, Mong. *χudžiä-*, Urd. *qutša-*, NKh. *χutsv-*, SKh. *gutsv-*, BB *χussv-*, Al.B *χusa-* id., Mog. *quišanä* 'he barks', Kalm. *χutsv-* 'to bark'.

Mo. *saču-* 'to strew, to sow', MMo. (SH) *saču-*, Mong. *sadži-*, Urd. *džatšu-* id., Aru Khorchin *satsir-* ~ *sadžir-* ~ *satyr-* 'to be flown by the wind, to perish', Kh. *satsv-* 'to strow', Al.B *sasa-* < \**čaču-* < \**saču-*, Kalm. *tsatsv-* id.

To conclude this section may we add that Common Mongolian \*č both at the beginning and in the middle of words originated from two different consonants. It developed either from the Common Altaic \*č or from the Common Altaic \*t before \*i or \*i:

Mo. *čooqur* 'motley, spotted' derived from CM \*čuβaqur = Turk. *čubar* id.

Mo. *quča* 'ram' < CMo \*quča = Turk. *qoč* id.

Mo. *čilayun* 'stone, rock' < CM \*čilayun < Pre-Mongolian \*tilayun = Korean *tol*, Chuvash *čul* < \**tal*, Turk. *taš* < \**tal* id.

Mo. *bičig* 'letter' < \**bitig* = Turk. (Uig.) *bitig*, Ma. *bitxe* id.

### \*ž

57. The Common Mongolian affricate \*ž is the weak correlate to the strong affricate \*č. In some cases it has originated from Common Altaic \*d before \*i (or \*i), in other cases it is a direct continuation of Common Altaic \*ž.

Where \*ž developed from \*d under the influence of the vowel \*i (< \*i or \*i) there is still an alternation *d* ~ *ž* in Written Mongolian, and the further developments of the consonants \*d and \*ž still alternate in colloquial Mongolian languages.

Here are a few examples of Common Mongolian \*ž < Common Altaic \*d at the beginning (a) and in the middle of stems (b):

(a) Urd. *džulā* 'vertex', Kalm. *zulā* id. < \*žulai, Al.B *žolō* <

\*žiluya, Mo. žiluya 'sinciput' < \*dīluya = Tungus (Barguzin) *dil* 'head', Ma. žolo < \*žiluya < \*dīluya 'cranium'.

Urd. *džasa-* 'to repair, to arrange', Mo. *žasa-* < \**dasa-* id. = Ma. *dasa-* 'to repair, to govern' = Turk. *jasa-* 'to arrange, to make'.

In a few cases there is still an alternation of initial *ž* ~ *d*, e.g., Mo. *doliy* ~ *žoliy* 'redemption, ransom', Urd. *džolik* 'a doll or a mannequin replacing a sick person and clad in the latter's cloth, which is supposed to take the evil upon itself and thus relieve the sick person; a sort of scape-goat', Kh. *dzolluk* id. = Ma. *žoli-* 'to redeem' < Mongolian.

(b) Mo. *ažirya* 'stallion', Urd. *adžirga* id. < \**adiryā* = Tungus (Solon) *adirga* ~ *adigga* < Pre-Mongolian = Turk. *adyır* || *ajyır*, Yakut *atır* id.

Mo. *ežen* < \**ežin* < \**edin* 'master, lord', Al.B *ežen* id. = Turk. (Orkhon, Uig.) *idi*, Chagatai *iğā* id.

58. The Common Mongolian \**ž*; independently of its origin, has resulted in the following sounds at the beginning of stems:

#### N o r m a l   d e v e l o p m e n t s

(a) Before \**i*:

Mo., MMo. *ž*,  
Dag. *dž*,  
Mong. *dž*,  
Urd., Urat *dž*,  
Khar. *dž*,  
Kh. *dž*,  
Ts.B, Sart.B *dž*,  
BB *dž*,  
Kh.B *ž*,  
AgaB *ž*,  
Al.B *ž*,

(b) Before other vowels:

*ž*,  
*dž* ~ *dž*,  
*dž*,  
*ts* sporadically (c),  
*dž*,  
*dž*,  
*dž*,  
*dz*,  
*z*,  
*z*,  
*ð*,  
*z*,

Ekh.B <i>j</i> ,	<i>z</i> ,
Mog. <i>dž</i> ,	<i>dž</i> ,
Kalm. <i>dž</i> ,	<i>z</i> .

(a) Mo. *žiruya* 'ambler', Dag. *džirō*, Mong. *džioro*, Urd., Ch., Khar. *džirō*, Kh. *džorō*, Al.B *žorō*, Ekh.B *jorō*, Mog. *džirō*, Kalm. *džorā* id.

Mo. *žiluya* 'rein', MMo. (SH) *žilo'a*, Urd. *džilō*, Khar., Kh. *džolō*, BB *džolō*, Al.B *žolō*, Ekh.B *jolō*, Kalm. *džolā* id.

Mo. *žil* 'year', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *žil*, Dag. *džil*, Mong. *džir*, Urd., Ch., Khar., Urat, Kh. *džil*, BB, Ts.B, Sart.B *džil*, Al.B *žil*, Ekh. *jil*, Kalm. *džil* id.

(b) Mo. *žažil-* 'to chew', MMo. (Mu.) *žažil-*, Mong. *džiädžili-*, Urd. *džadžil-*, Khar. *džadžil-*, Kh. *džadžil-*, Al.B *zažal-* ~ *žažal-* id., Mog. *džadžinā* 'he chews', Kalm. *džadžl-* ~ *džadžl-* 'to chew'.

Mo. *žegün* 'needle', MMo. (SH) *že'ü* ~ (Mu.) *že'ün*, Mong. *džiū*, Urd. *džū*, Khar. *džū*, Kh. *džū*, Ts.B *džū*, BB *zū*, Al.B, Ekh.B *zūn*, Mog. *džöwun*, Kalm. *zūn* id.

Mo. *žayura* 'interval, space between two objects', MMo. (SH) *ža'ura* ~ (Mu.) *žūra*, Dag. *džöra*, Mong. *džiōro* 'between, in the middle', Urd. *džūra*, Khar. *džörv*, Kh. *džūrv*, Al.B *zūra* id., Mog. *džöurō* 'middle', Kalm. *zūrv* 'between'.

Mo. *žayu-* 'to bite', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ža'u-*, Mong. *džiū-*, Urd. *džū-*, Khar. *džōw-*, Kh. *džū-*, Al.B *zū-* id., Mog. *džöwunā* 'he bites', Kalm. *zū-* 'to bite'.

Mo. *žegüden* 'dream', MMo. (Mu.) *žüdü* id., Dag. *džegude-* 'to dream', Mong. *džiüdin* 'dream', Urd. *džüde*, Khar. *džüde*, Kh. *džüde*, Al.B *züdeñ* id., Mog. *džöwidwlanā* 'he dreams', Kalm. *züdñ* 'dream'.

(c) In Monguor the initial \*ž has resulted in an apico-alveolar strong affricate *tʂ* in a few words. In still fewer cases it is *tš*, while the »normal« development is *dž*.

Mong. *tʂuguā-* 'to lose' = Mo. *žabqa-*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *žabqa-*, Urd. *džibχara-* 'to be lost, to get lost', Kh. *dzawχvrv-*, Kalm. *zawχvr-* id.

Mong. *tʂugu-* 'to be in good shape' = Mo. *žoki-* < \**žoqî-*, MMo. (SH) *žoki-* ~ (Mu.) *žoqi-*, Urd. *džoχχiro-* 'to suit, to fit', Kh. *dzoχχi-*

'to suit, to be appropriate', Al.B *zošo-* id., Mog. *džoyālyana* 'he causes to do' (= Mo. *žokijalja-* 'to cause to establish'), Kalm. *zok-* 'to suit, to befit'.

Mong. *tšuorguō* 'a valley with a river in the middle' = MMo. (SH) *žölke* 'current, stream', Ekh.B *zulχe* 'the middle of a river, the deepest part in the river', Ekh.B *nařin zulχe* 'the upper course of the Lena River, the Lena River in its upper part' (*verbatim* 'the narrow stream').

Mong. *čšiärgi-* 'to swallow' = Mo. *žalgi-*, MMo. (SH) *žalgi-* ~ (Mu.) *žalyri-*, Dag. *džalgi-*, Urd. *džalgi-*, Kh. *džalgi-*, Al.B *zalja-*, Kalm. *zälge-* id.

59. An anomalous development is that of *\*ž* into *dz* (*z*) instead of *dž* (*ž*) before the vowel *\*i* (*\*i*).

The «breaking» of the vowel *\*i* (< *\*i* or *\*i*) occurred sometimes prior to the period when *\*ž* > *dz* before vowels other than *\*i*. In other words, when *\*ž* > *dz* the vowel *\*i* already had become another vowel. The development *\*ž* > *dz* (*z*) occurs also before *\*i* < *\*i* followed by a deep velar consonant (\**q* or \**γ*), similar to the development *\*č* > *ts* (§ 55).

Mo. *žiryuyan* 'six', MMo. (SH, P) *žirgo'an*, Dag. *džirgō*, Mong. *džirgōn*, Al.B *žorgōn*, Ekh.B *jorgōn* id. (normally from *\*žiryoyan* < *\*žiryuyan*); Urd. *džurqā*, Khar. *džurgān*, Kh. *džurgā*, BB *zurgā*, AgaB *durqān*, Kh.B *zurqān*, Kalm. *zuryān* id. (normally from *\*žuryayān* < *\*žiryuyan*).

Mo. *žiyasun* 'fish', MMo. (SH) *žiyasun* id., (Mu.) *žiqasuni* (acc.), Dag. *džayus*, Mong. *džiägasə*, Urd. *džagasu*, Khar. *džagas*, Kh. *dzagas*, BB *zaguhu*, Al.B *zagahan*, Kalm. *zayvsñ* id.

60. Another anomalous development of the initial consonant *\*ž* is that into *n*. This may be a result of the nasalizing effect of the consonant *\*n* closing the initial syllable.

Al.B *naňša-* 'to beat' = Mo. *žanči-* id., MMo. (SH, Mu.) *žanči-*, Mong. *džiänči-*, Urd. *jantši-*, Kh. *dzantši-*, Mog. *džantši-*, Kalm. *džantši-* ~ *zantši-* ~ *jantši-* id.

61. We proceed to the Common Mongolian consonant *\*ž* in the middle of words.

The affricate \*ž did not occur at the end of syllables or stems. In many cases it is a secondary sound having resulted from \*d before \*i or \*ī.

The vowel \*i in non-initial syllables is often assimilated to the vowel of the initial syllable. Consequently, the consonant \*ž may be followed by a vowel other than i, although the vowel concerned is a further development of \*i. In accordance with this the consonant \*ž results in Khalkha in dz and in Buriat and Kalmuck in z and not in dž (or ž respectively) as one would expect.

In Khalkha and the Tsongol and Sartul dialects of Buriat, \*ž on the boundary between the short initial and the short second syllable has become ddž before \*i or ddz before a vowel other than \*i.

The affricate \*ž in the middle of stems:

(a) Before *i:	(b) Before vowels other than *i:
Mo., MMo. ž,	ž,
Dag. dž,	dž ~ dž,
Mong. dž,	dž before a secondary i, dz after s, dž before vowels other than a secondary i,
Urd. dž,	dž,
Kh. dž ~ ddž,	dz ~ ddz,
BB dž,	z,
AgaB ž,	ð,
Kh.B, Al.B, Ekh.B ž,	z,
Mog. dž,	dž,
Kalm. dž,	z.

(a) CM ažirya < \*adiryā (cf. Solon adirga, Turk. adyir) 'stallion', Mo. ažirya, MMo. (SH, Mu.) ažirya, Urd. adžarga, Kh. addzvrgv < \*ažarva < \*ažirya, Al.B azarga, Kalm. azryv id.

CM \*gežige < \*gedige 'plait, tress', Mo. gežige id., MMo. (SH) gežige 'rear-guard', Dag. gedig 'plait', Urd. gedžige, Kh. geddzəgə id. ~ CM \*gedergü, Mo. gedergü 'back, backwards', MMo. (SH) gedergü, Mong. gidiergu, Urd. gedergēn, Kh. geddərgə, Kalm. gedṛgə id.

CM \*gūžige < \*gūdige (cf. Tungus CASTRÉN *gudigä*, Solon *gudege* 'stomach, belly') 'stomach', Mo. gūžege < \*gūžige < \*gūdige, MMo. (Mu.) gūžētū 'having a stomach', Dag. *gudžē* 'intestines', Mong. *gudžiē* 'stomach', Urd. *gudžē* id., Kh. *gudžē* id., Kalm. *gūzēn* 'stomach of a cow'; cf. Al.B *gudžēn* < \*gūdesün 'intestines'.

(b) CM \*gižayur ~ φužayur (cf. Ma. *tužuri*), Mo. ižayur 'root, origin', MMo. (SH, P) *huža'ur* id. ~ (Mu.) *hiža'uri* (acc.), Dag. *odžōr*, Mong. *sdužur*, Urd. *idžūr*, Kh. *jodžūr*, Al.B *uzūr*, Kalm. *jožūr* id.

CM \*ožayač, Mo. ožayač 'penis', MMo. ožaqaič, Mong. *džoguč* ~ *džiguč*, Urd. *odžogn*, Kh. *oddzngvē*, Al.B *ozoqō*, Kalm. *ozəγā* id.

CM \*yažar, Mo. yažar 'land, country, place', MMo. (SH) *yažar* ~ (P, Mu.) *qažar*, Dag. *gadžir*, Mong. *gadžiär*, Urd. *gadžar*, Kh. *gaddzor*, BB *gazor*, Al.B *gazar*, Mog. *yadžar*, Kalm. *gazr* id.

CM \*üže-, Mo. üže- 'to see', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) üže-, Dag. *udži-*, Mong. *udžiä-*, Urd. *udži-*, Kh. *uddzə-*, Al.B *uzə-* id., Mog. *udžana* 'he sees', Kalm. *üzə-* 'to see'.

CM \*olža, Mo. olža 'prey, booty', MMo. (SH) *olža* id. ~ (Mu.) *olža* 'prisoner of war', Mong. *urdži*, Urd. *oldžo*, Kh. *oldžn*, Al.B *olzo*, Kalm. *olzə* 'prey, booty, income, gain'.

#### \*s

62. The Common Mongolian spirant \*s results in different sounds not only in different languages but frequently also in different positions in one and the same language.

(A) At the beginning of stems, before vowels other than \*i (< \*i and \*i) the Common Mongolian spirant \*s has developed into the following sounds:

Mo., MMo., Mong., Dag., Mog., Kalm.		s,
Urd., Khar., Ch., Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B		

  

BB, AgaB, Kh.B, Al.B, Ekh.B	h.
-----------------------------	----

(a) Mo. *sara* 'moon, month', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *sara* ~ (P) *zara*, Dag. *sar*, Mong., Urd. *sara*, Ch., Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B *sarp*, Kalm. *sarv*, Kh.B, Al.B *hara* id.

Mo. *sajin* < \**sayin* 'good, healthy, well', MMo. (SH, P) *sajin* ~ (Mu.) *sajn* id., Dag. *saijan* 'beautiful', Mong. *sən* 'well, healthy, good', Urd. *sān*, Ch., Kh., Ts.B *sáen*, AgaB *haēn*, Al.B *hāiη* id., Mog. *sōin* 'correct', Kalm. *sān* 'well, healthy, good'.

Mo. *sere-* < \**seri-* 'to awaken', MMo. (SH) *seri-* 'to perceive, to notice' ~ (Mu.) *seri-* 'to awaken', Dag. *seri-*, Mong. *sari-*, Urd. *sere-*, Ch., Kh., Ts.B *séra-*, BB, Al.B *həfi-* id., Mog. *serāna* 'he awakens', Kalm. *serə-* 'to awaken'.

Mo. *sumun* 'arrow', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *sumun*, Dag. *somo*, Mong. *sumu*, Urd. *sumun*, Kh. *sumv*, Ts.B *somp*, BB *hom*, Al.B *homəη*, Kalm. *sumŋ* id.

Mo. *segūl* 'tail, end', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *se'ül*, Dag. *segūl*, Mong. *sūr*, Urd., Ch., Kh., Ts.B *sūl*, BB, AgaB, Al.B *hūl*, Mog. *söwl*, Kalm. *sūl* id.

(b) An exception is Kh. *šün̩* < \**söni* 'night' = Mo. *söni*, MMo. (SH) *süni*, Dag. *suńi*, Mong. *soni*, Urd. *söni*, BB *hün̩*, AgaB *huńi*, Al.B *hün̩i*, Mog. *suńi*, Kalm. *sō* id.

63. The consonant \**s* in intervocalic position, before vowels other than \**i* (or \**ī*) results in the following sounds:

Mo., MMo., Dag.      *s*,

Mong.                  (a) *s* in words beginning with a weak consonant,  
                          (b) *dz* in words beginning with a strong consonant or after a liquid consonant,

Urd.                  *s*,

Durbut Beise        *t* with the following vowel dropped in the case (b),

Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B    *s*,

*ss* on the boundary between the initial and the second syllable (provided that both are short),

BB, AgaB, Kh.B,

Al.B, Ekh.B         *h*,

Mog., Kalm.        *s*.

(a) Mo. *jasun* 'bone', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *jasun*, Dag. *jas*, Mong.

*jäse*, Urd. *jasu*, Kh. *jas* ~ *jassv*, BB *jah*, AgaB *jahan*, Mog. *jōsun*, Kalm. *jasŋ* id.

Mo. *nasun* 'age', MMo. (SH) *nasutu* 'at an age of . . .' ~ (Mu.) *nasun* 'age', Dag. *nas* 'life year', Mong. *nase* 'age', Urd. *nasu*, Kh., Ts.B *nassv*, Al.B *nahan*, Kalm. *nasŋ* 'age'.

Mo. *dabusun* 'salt', MMo. (Mu.) *dabusun*, Mong. *dabse*, Urd. *dawusu*, Kh. *dawns*, BB *dawuhu*, AgaB, Kh.B, Al.B *dabahan*, Mog. *dabsun*, Kalm. *dawsŋ* id.

(b) Mo., MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *usun* 'water', Dag. *os*, Mong. *fudzu*, Urd. *usu*, Durbut Beise *wt* ~ *oat*, Kh. *us* ~ *ussv*, Ts.B *os* ~ *ossv*, BB *uhu*, AgaB, Kh.B, Al.B, Ekh.B *uhan*, Mog. *usun*, Kalm. *usŋ* id.

Mo. *üsün* 'hair', MMo. (SH, IM) *hüsün* ~ (SH, Mu.) *üsün*, Dag. *usu*, Mong. *fudze*, Urd. *usu*, Kh. *us* ~ *ussa*, BB *uhu*, Mog. *usun*, Kalm. *üsŋ* id.

Mo. *mösün* ~ *mölsün* < \**mölisün* 'ice', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *mölsün*, Dag. *mejs*, Mong. *mordze*, Urd. *mösü*, Kh. *mvs*, BB *möhw*, Kh.B *mułihen*, Al.B *mülühön*, Kalm. *mösŋ* id.

Mo. *čisun* 'blood', MMo. (SH) *čisu*, Dag. *tšos*, Mong. *tsedžu*, Urd. *děsu*, Durbut Beise *šot*, Kh. *tsus* ~ *tsussv*, Ts.B *tšosv*, Al.B *šuhan*, Kalm. *tsusŋ* id.

64. The spirant \**s* in final position, at the end of syllables or words, results in the following sounds:

Mo., MMo.      *s*,

Dag.                *r* (which disappears before *l*),

Mong.              *s* (with a paragogic vowel at the end of words),

Urd.                *s*,

Durbut Beise *t*,

Kh.                 *s*,

Ts.B, Sart.B and all Buriat dialects *d* ~ *t*,

Mog.                *s* (the plural suffix *-s* > *-z*, however),

Kalm.               *s*.

Mo. *bos-* 'to rise, to get up', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *bos-*, Dag. *bos-* < \**bosu-*, Mong. *bose-*, Urd. *bos-*, Durbut Beise *bot-*, Kh. *bos-*, Ts.B *bod-*, Al.B *bod-* id., Mog. *bosunā* 'he rises', Kalm. *bos-* 'to rise'.

Mo. *bös* 'cotton textile', MMo. (Mu.) *böz* < Turkic, Dag. *burti* 'textile', Mong. *bos* 'cotton textile', Urd. *bös*, Kh. *büs*, BB *böd*, Al.B *böd*, Kalm. *bös* id.

Mo. *ös-* 'to increase in number', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ös-*, Mong. *ose-*, Urd. *ös-*, Kh. *is-*, BB *idχa-* 'to increase, to make numerous', Al.B *öd-* 'to increase', Kalm. *ös-* id.

Mo. *ulus* 'people, nation', MMo. (SH, P) *ulus* ~ (Mu.) *ulusi* (acc.), Dag. *olor*, Mong. *lusg*, Urd. *ulus*, Durbut Beise *wld*, Kh. *ullös*, BB *ullot*, Kh.B, Al.B *ulot*, Mog. *ulus*, Kalm. *ulus* id.

Mo. *emüske-* 'to clad', MMo. (SH) *emüs-* 'to put on', Dag. *emelkē-* < \**emər-lkē-* 'to clad someone', Mong. *mose-* 'to put on' ~ *mosga-* 'to clad someone', Urd. *önös-* 'to put on', Durbut Beise *umti-* ~ *umut-*, Kh. *imas-*, BB *imad-* 'to put on', Al.B *imödχi-* 'to clad someone', Mog. *önusulyana* 'he causes to put on', Kalm. *ön'ska-* 'to clad someone'.

Mo. -s plur. suff., MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) -s, Dag. *deest*, Mong. -s, Urd., Kh. -s, Bur. -d ~ -t, Mog. -z, Kalm. -s id.

In Buriat the final \*s > d (~ t), when entering the intervocalic position, results in different consonants:

in Bargu Buriat it remains *d*,

in Tsongol final *d* becomes *s* in intervocalic position,

in Alar final *d* becomes *h* in intervocalic position,

in Aga and Khorin final *d* becomes *š* in intervocalic position before \*i.

Ts.B *olvt* 'people' ~ *olvsī* (acc.), Al.B *ulvt* ~ *ulvhi* id., AgaB *ulvt* ~ *ulvši* id.

65. (B) The initial spirant \*s before \*i (< \*i or \*i̥) results in most of the Mongolian languages in š (š, etc.).

Mo. s,

MMo. š,

Dag. š ~ š,

Mog. (a) š before i < \*i, i.e., in back vocalic stems,  
(b) s before i < \*i, i.e., in front vocalic stems,

Mong. (c) š before i, ü, and immediately before dz,  
(d) s before the remaining vowels and consonants,

Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. š.

(a) Mo. *sira* 'yellow', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *šira*, Mog. *šira*, Mong. *šira*, Urd. *šara*, Kh., Kalm. *šarv*, Bur. *šara* id.

Mo. *sibar* 'clay, dirt, mud', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *šibar*, Dag. *šawar*, Mong. *šawar*, Urd. *šawar*, Kh. *šavor*, Bur. *šabar*, Kalm. *šawṛ* id.

Mo. *sibayun* 'bird', MMo. (SH) *šibao'un* ~ (Mu.) *šiba'un* id., Dag. *šowō* 'falcon, hunting falcon', Mong. *šū*, Urd. *šiwi*, Kh. *šuwū*, Al.B *šubūn*, Kalm. *šowūn* id.

Mo. *siryu-* 'to sneak in', MMo. (SH) *širyu-* 'to squeeze oneself into something', Mog. *šuryuna* 'he puts in', Kh. *šurgv-* 'to sneak in'.

(b) Mo. *singe-* 'to go down (sun), to be absorbed', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *šinge-* id., Dag. *šingən* 'liquid, fluid', Mog. *singānā* 'the sun goes down', Mong. *šenge-* 'to trickle into, to infiltrate', Urd. *šinge-*, Kh. *šingə-*, Bur. *šenqe-*, Kalm. *šingə-* id.

Mo. *sidün* 'tooth', MMo. (SH) *šidü* ~ (Mu.) *šidiün*, Dag. *šide*, Mog. *suduu*, Mong. *šdi*, Urd. *šuduu*, Kh. *šud* ~ *šudda*, BB *šud*, Al.B *šudeñ*, Kalm. *šüdñ* id.

Mo. *sine* 'new', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *sine* ~ (Mu.) *šini*, Mong. *šeni*, Urd. *šine*, Kh. *šinə*, Bur. *šenii*, Kalm. *šinə* id.

riMo. *sigesün* 'urine', MMo. (SH) *š'e-* 'to urinate' ~ (Mu.) *šesün* 'u ne', Mog. *sejsun*, Mong. *šedze*, Urd. *šesw*, Kh. *šēs*, Al.B *šehəñ*, Kalm. *šesñ* id.

(c) Mong. *širā-* 'to fry' = Mo. *sira-*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *šira-*, Urd. *šara-*, Kh. *šar-*, Bur. *šara-*, Kalm. *šar-* id.

Mong. *šürün* 'rough, rugged' = Mo. *sirügün*, MMo. (Mu.) *širün*, Urd. *šurün*, Kh., Bur. *šurūn*, Kalm. *šürün* id.

Mong. *šdžir* < \**sižir* 'a small scale for silver' = Mo. *sižir* < \**sičir* < \**sitir* < Sogdian *st'yr* (\**s'ičer*) < Greek *στατήρ* 'a weight, a stater', Kh. *šiddžir*, Al.B *šežer* (in folk tales) id.

(d) Mong. *šemu-* 'to suck' = Mo. *sime-*, MMo. (SH) *šimi-* ~ (Mu.) *šime-* id., Mog. *siminā* 'he sucks', Urd. *šime-*, Kh. *šimə-*, Bur. *šemə-*, Kalm. *šimə-* 'to suck'.

Mong. *šū-* 'to sweep' = Mo. *sigürde-*, MMo. (H) *ši'ür-* ~ (Mu.) *ši'ürgü* 'broom', Urd. *šürde-* 'to sweep', Kh. *šürdə-* id.

Mong. *šgā-* 'to press, to squeeze; to approach' = Mo. *siqa-*, Mo. (SH, Mu.) *šiqa-*, Urd. *šaxa-*, Kh. *šaxxv-*, Al.B *šaxa-*, Kalm. *šaxə-* id.

66. The spirant \*s in the middle of stems has developed before \*i

(< \*i & \*i), in general, in the same manner as at the beginning of stems. A final \*s of a syllable before the syllable \*qi or \*ki becomes also š; in other words, the vowel \*i (\*i) has transformed \*s into š over the head of \*q or \*k. The consonant \*s closing a syllable becomes r in Dagur, however.

(A) The consonant \*s before \*i (\*i or \*i) in the middle of stems results in the following sounds:

Mo. s,

MMo. š,

Dag. (a) š,

(b) sometimes s, when the immediately following vowel \*i has already become another vowel prior to the beginning of the development \*s > š,

Mong. š before i or u,

s before other vowels,

Urd. š,

Kh., Ts.B.,

Sart.B. ,

š on the boundary between the initial and second syllable when both are short,

Remaining Buriat dialects š,

Mog. š,

Kalm. š.

(a) Mo. busu ~ Pre-Clas. Mo. busi 'another', MMo. (SH, P) buši ~ (IM) busi ~ (Mu.) biši, Dag. biši, Mong. buši, Urd. biši, Kh. bišši, AgaB bęšę, Mog. biši, Kalm. biš id.

Mo. dösi 'anvil', MMo. (Mu.) dösi ~ (IM) dösi, Mong. döšę, Urd. döšö, Kh. döšši, Kalm. döš id.

Mo. doyysi < \*doyaysi 'down', MMo. (SH) doroyši ~ (Mu.) doraqši, Mong. dōrošę, Urd. döš ~ doğš, Kh. döši, Bur. döšö, Mog. dökši, Kalm. dorakšän id.

Mo. ayasi 'character', Dag. aši, Urd. aši, Kh. aši, AgaB aša, Kalm. aši id.

Mo. bisire- ~ Pre-Clas. Mo. büsire- 'to respect', MMo. (SH, P)

*büšire-*, Mong. *šüriē-*, Urd. *bišire-*, Kh. *biššir-*, AgaB *bęšer-*, Kalm. *bišr-* id.

(b) Mo. *gesigün* 'branch', MMo. (SH) *geši'üt* 'branches' ~ (P) *k'esi'ün* 'branch', Dag. *gesū*, Urd. *gōšū*, Kh. *gešū*, AgaB *gešūn*, Kalm. *gešün* id.

(B) The consonant \*s before the syllable \*ki:

Mo. *š*,

MMo. *š* (in cases of \*s < \*č Mu. has č),

Dag. *r*,

Mong. *s*,

Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *š*.

Mo. *ayuški* < \**ayusqī* 'lungs', MMo. (SH) *a'ušigi* ~ (Mu.) *a'uški*, Dag. *aurki*, Mong. *ošgi*, Urd. *ušigi* ~ *ušxi*, Khar. *oškhi*, Kh. *ušig*, BB *ušix*, Al.B *ušxa*, Kalm. *ošk⁹* id.

Mo. *giški-* < \**giski-* < \**gički-* 'to step, to trample', MMo. (SH) *getki-* ~ (Mu.) *gički-*, Mong. *gisgi-*, Urd. *giški-*, Kh. *gišgə-* ~ *gišχə-*, Al.B *gešχə*, Kalm. *gišk⁹-* id.

67. The final \*s of stems does not change into š before the vowel \*i of a suffix, but remains s. In Buriat the final \*s has become d. The latter becomes s before \*i in Tsongol; it becomes h in Alar, but results in š in Aga. The final \*s has developed into r in Dagur and it remains r also when entering the intervocalic position.

Mo. *ulusi* 'the people' (accusative of *ulus*), MMo. (SH) *ulusi*, Dag. *oleri* (nom. is *oler*), Urd. *ulusig*, Kh. *ulsig*, Ts.B *olosi* (nom. is *olod* ~ *olv*), AgaB *ulvši* (nom. is *ulvt*), Al.B *ulahī* ~ *ulvhī* (nom. is *ulvt*), Kalm. *ulsig* (nom. is *ul⁹s*) id.

68. In Written Mongolian the consonant š occurs also before vowels other than \*i. It is doubtful that the consonant š is always a primary consonant. It is possible that the vowel immediately following the consonant in question is of secondary origin and has developed from \*i. On the other hand, many stems with š followed by a vowel other than i may be borrowings from other languages, e.g., Mo. *šatu* 'stair' < Turkic *šatu* id.; Mo. *šoy* 'joke' < Turkic (cf. Altai, Telengit, etc.) *šoq* 'villainy, meanness', etc.

### The Consonant \*j

69. The palatal (mediolingual) consonant *j* (= German *j*, English *y*) as a general rule remains as such.

At the beginning of stems the correspondence is as follows:

Mo., MMo. *j*,

Dag. (a) *j*,

(b) *š* before \**i* (mainly in the Tsitsikar dialect),

Mong. (a) *j*,

(c) Zero (disappears) but transforms the vowel of the initial syllable into *i*,

(d) *s* immediately before a consonant when the vowel of the initial syllable disappears,

Urd., Kh., Bur. *j*,

Mog. (a) *j*,

(e) disappears with no trace,

Kalm. (a) *j*,

(c) disappears but transforms the vowel *e* into *i*, i.e., *\*je-* > *i-*.

(a) Mo., MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *jabu-* 'to walk, to go', Dag. *jau-*, Mong. *jū-*, Shirongol *jau-*, Urd. *jawu-*, Kh. *jāw-*, Bur. *jaba-* id., Mog. *jobuna* 'he walks', Kalm. *jow-* 'to walk, to go'.

Mo. *jayun* 'what', *jambar* 'which', MMo. (SH) *ja'un*, (SH) *jambar*, (Mu.) *jama* 'something', Dag. *jō* 'what', *jām* ~ *jēm* 'something', Mog. *jān* 'what, which', Shir. *jan*, Urd. *jū* 'what', *jamar* 'which', Kh. *jū* 'what', *jamar* 'which', Bur. *jūn* 'what', *jamar* 'which', Mog. *jem* ~ *jema* 'what', *jemār* 'how', Kalm. *jūn* 'what', *jamārn* 'of what kind?'

(b) Dag. *šige* < \**rike* < \**jeke* 'big' = Mo. *jeke*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *jeke* ~ (P) *jēke*, Mong. *še*, Shera Yögur *iške* < \**šike* < \**jeke*, Shir. (Ts.) *fuke* ~ (S) *šuko*, Urd. *iχxe*, Kh. *jiχχə*, Bur. *jeχe*, Mog. *ika* ~ *eka*, Kalm. *ik* id.

Dag. *šiläzu* 'thread' < Ma. *ilarsu* 'threefold' (i.e., made of three).

Dag. *šillē* ~ *ildē* 'floor' < Solon *ildēē* id.

(c) Mong. *idā-* 'to be tired, to be exhausted' = Mo. *jada-* 'to

be unable', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *jada-*, Dag. *jada-* 'to be unable, to be poor', Urd. *jada-*, Kh. *jaddv-*, Bur. *jada-*, Kalm. *jadə-* 'to be unable'.

Kalm. *ikə* 'big' = Mo., MMo. *jeke*, Dag. *šige*, Mong. *sge*, Urd. *iχxe*, Kh. *jiχχə*, Bur. *jeχe*, Mog. *igā* ~ *ēkā* id.

(d) Mong. *sge* 'big' (cf. b & c).

Mong. *sdzən* 'nine' = Mo. *jisün* ~ *jesün*, MMo. (SH) *jesün* ~ (Mu.) *jisün*, Dag. *jisę*, Urd. *juusuu* ~ *jisuu*, Kh. *juussa*, Bur. *juhəŋ*, Kalm. *jisŋ* id.

(e) Mog. *amarsej* 'something' ~ *jamarsä* id. = Mo. *jambar* 'which' + *-sa* as in Turkic *närsä* 'something' < *nä* 'what' + *ärsä* 'if he is', MMo. *jambar*, Kh. *jamvr* 'which'.

Mog. *orčinā* 'he goes away' = MMo. (Mu.) *orči-* 'to go away' ~ (SH) *jorči-* id. ~ (P) *jorči-* id.

70. A rare development, little known in Modern Mongolian, is that of the initial \**j* into *ž* (*dž*) in quite few words in West Middle Mongolian as represented in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* (a) and the alternation *j* ~ *n* in a few words in spoken Mongolian (b).

(a) Mu. *žāra-* 'to hasten, to hurry' = Mo. *jayara-*, SH *ja'ara-*, Dag. *jāra-*, Urd. *jāra-*, Kh. *jār-*, Bur. *jāra-*, Kalm. *jār-* id.

Mu. *žara* 'wound' = Mo. *jara*, SH *jara*, Mong. *jāra*, Urd. *jara*, Kh. *jarn*, Bur. *jara*, Kalm. *jarə* id.

(b) Urd. *jantši-* 'to beat', Kalm. *jantši-* ~ *džantši-* id. = Al.B *nańša-* id. = Mo. *žanči-*, MMo. (Mu.) *žanči-*, Kh. *dzanči-* id.

71. The spirant \**j* is also preserved in intervocalic position. It is long in Khalkha between two short vowels belonging to the first two syllables. The general tendency is that *j* transforms the second vowel (i.e., the vowel immediately following the consonant *j*) into *i* so that the group \**aJa* becomes *aji* etc. (A). A further development common to many Mongolian languages is that the groups \**aJa*, \**oJo* < \**oJa*, etc. become diphthongs, i.e., \**aJa* > *ai* ~ *ae*, etc. (B). Another general feature is that the groups \**iJa*, \**iJe*, etc. (< \**iJa*, \**ige* respectively) become long vowels (*ā*, *ē* respectively). While in some languages the consonant preceding the group concerned is palatalized, it is not in other languages (C). There are particular developments in single languages or words (D).

(A) The intervocalic \*j is preserved when neither vowel is \*i. The consonant \*j transforms the vowel immediately following into a secondary i, however.

Mo. *bajan* 'rich', MMo. (Mu.) *bajan*, Dag. *bajin*, Mong. *bajān*, Urd. *bajan*, Kh. *bajjη*, Bur. *bajan*, Kalm. *bajη* id.

Mo. *najan* 'eighty', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *najan*, Dag. *naji*, Mong. *najan*, Urd. *naja*, Kh. *najjη*, Bur. *najan*, Kalm. *najη* id.

Mo. *nojan* 'prince, nobleman', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *nojan* ~ (P) *nojad* 'commanders, chieftains', Mong. *nojōn* 'mandarin', Urd. *nojon*, Kh. *nojjη*, Bur. *nojoη*, Kalm. *nojη* 'prince'.

Mo. *uja-* 'to bind', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *huja-*, Mong. *fujā-*, Urd. *uja-*, Kh. *ujjη-*, Al.B *uja-*, Kalin. *ujv-* id.

Mo. *yuja* 'hip, femur', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *yuja*, Dag. *goāi*, Urd. *guja*, Kh. *gujjη*, Kalm. *gujv-* id.

Mo. *qaja-* 'to throw', Urd. *χaja-*, Kh. *χajjη-*, Bur. *χaja-*, Kalm. *χajv-* id.

Mo. *tajay* 'cane, staff', MMo. (Mu.) *tajaq*, Mong. *tiaq*, Urd. *tajak*, Aru Khor. *tajik*, Kh. *tajjηk*, Kalm. *tajvq* id.

Mo. *bajas-* 'to be glad, to rejoice', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *bajas-*, Dag. *bajirtvī* 'glad, joyful', Mong. *biēsē-* 'to rejoice', Urd. *bajas-*, Kh. *bajjvrlv-*, Bur. *bajarla-*, Kalm. *bajvrl-* id.

Mo. *ojo-* < \**oja-* 'to sew', MMo. (Mu.) *oja-*, Dag. *oji-* ~ *oī-*, Mong. *jō-*, Urd. *ojo-*, Kh. *ojjη-*, Bur. *ojo-* id., Mog. *oinā* 'he sews', Kalm. *ujv-* 'to sew'.

(B) Mo. *aju-* 'to be afraid, to fear', MMo. (SH) *aju-* id. ~ (Mu.) *aī-* in *aība* 'he was scared', Dag. *aīdūγ* ~ *ajirduy* 'terrible' (< \**aju-* *ydaqu*), Mong. *ajī-*, Urd. *ā-*, Kh. *āī-*, Al.B *ā-* 'to be afraid', Mog. *aīnā* 'he is scared', Kalm. *ā-* 'to be afraid'.

Mo. *yuju-* 'to ask, to beg, to request', MMo. (SH) *yuju-* ~ (Mu.) *yūj-*, Dag. *goāj-*, Mong. *guērla-*, Urd. *guī-*, Kh. *guī-*, Bur. *guja-*, Kalm. *gu-* id.

(C) Mo. *qanijadun* 'cough', Dag. *χanēdu-* 'to cough', Mong. *χanādu* 'cough', Urd. *χanādu*, Kh. *χanīādv*, Bur. *χanādaη*, Kalm. *χanādη* id.

Mo. *kerije* 'crow', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *keri'e*, Mong. *kériē*, Urd. *kerē*, Kh. *χérē*, Bur. *χerē*, Kalm. *kerē* id.

(D) As stated above there are irregular developments. One of them is the relatively frequent disappearance of \*j and contraction of the vowels into one long vowel. This occurs in Kalmuck and Monguor (a). Another, very rare phenomenon is the development \*j > n in Monguor (b).

(a) Mo. *ajaya* 'bowl, cup', MMo. (SH) *ajaya* ~ (Mu.) *ajaqa*, Dag. *ajaqa*, Mong. *jäga*, Urd. *ajaga*, Kh. *ajŋgo*, Bur. *ajaga*, Kalm. *āy* id.

Mo. *yuju-* 'to beg', MMo. (SH) *yuju-* ~ (Mu.) *yui-*, Dag. *qoai-*, Mong. *quērla-*, Urd. *quī-*, Kh. *quī-*, Bur. *guja-*, Kalm. *qū-* id.

The following example, however, does not belong to this category, because here the forms with ō versus \*oja in other languages are developments of \*oya. In other words, these are parallel forms:

Mo. *qajar* 'two', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qajar*, Dag. *χojir*, Urd. *xojor*, Kh. *χojir*, Al.B. AgaB *χojor*, Mog. *qojör*, Kalm. *χojr* id. = Mong. *gōr*, Shera Yōgur *gur*, Kachug-Buriat *χōr* id.: *qajar* < \**qajar* || \**qoyar* > *χōr* etc.

(b) Mo. *saja* 'just now, right now, not long ago, recently', MMo. (SH) *saji*, Dag. *sajmmäki* 'immediately, as soon as', Mong. *sana* 'scarcely, just now', Urd. *saja*, Kh. *sajjī*, Bur. *haja*, Kalm. *sā* 'recently'.

### The Velar Consonants

72. Common Mongolian possessed the following velar consonants: \*q and \*γ (deep-velar or post-velar) and \*k, \*g, and \*η (velar or, perhaps, post-mediopalatal). The deep-velar consonants occurred only in back vocalic stems, while the consonants \*k and \*g occurred only in front vocalic stems. The nasal consonant \*η occurred in back- and front vocalic stems. The latter was similar to English n before g, e.g., in *song*.

#### \*q

The deep-velar strong stop \*q occurs at the beginning of stems and in intervocalic position. It occurs also after consonants, but it does not occur at the end of syllables or words.

This consonant was still a stop in Middle Mongolian, while at the present time it is a velar voiceless spirant ( $\chi$ ) in most of the Mongolian languages.

The initial consonant \**q* results in different sounds before \**i* and before vowels other than \**i*.

(A) The consonant \**q* at the beginning of words before vowels other than \**i*:

CM, Mo., MMo., Mog. *q*,

Dag.  $\chi$ ,

Mong. (a) *g* 1. when the initial syllable is closed by the consonant \**d* or the second syllable begins with \**d*, \**ž*, \**j* or \**s* before \**i* < \**i*; 2. in monosyllabic stems ending in \**η*,

(b)  $\chi$  in all other cases,

Urd. and Kh. South (c) *g* when the second syllable begins with a strong stop (\**t*, \**q*) or affricate (\**tʃ*) or a voiceless spirant (*s*, *š*); when the initial syllable is closed by the consonant *n*, *ŋ* or *m*, the development \**q* > *g* does not take place, although all the other conditions remain the same; when the syllable is closed by a consonant other than *n*, *ŋ* or *m* the development \**q* > *g* takes place,

(d)  $\chi$  in all remaining positions,

Kh. North, Bur., Kalm.  $\chi$ .

(a) Mo. \**qadayar* ~ *qažayar* 'bridle', MMo. (SH) *qada'ar* ~ (Mu.) *qadār*, Mog. *qadār*, Dag. *χadāla*, Mong. *qadar* 'bridle' ~ *qadzar* 'bit of a bridle', Urd. *χadžär*, Kh. *χadzär*, Bur., Kalm. *χazär* 'bridle'.

Mo. *qada* 'rock', MMo. (SH) *qada*, Dag. *χad* ~ *χada*, Mong. *qadā*, Urd. *χada*, Kh. *χaddə*, Bur. *χada*, Kalm. *χadə* id.

Mo. *qudal* 'lie, falsehood', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qudal*, Mog. *qudōl*, Mong. *qudar*, Urd. *χudal*, Kh. *χuddəl*, Bur. *χudal*, Kalm. *χudə* id.

Mo. *qurdun* 'quick', MMo. (SH) *yurdun* ~ (Mu.) *qurdun*, Mog. *qurdun*, Mong. *gurdun*, Kh. *χurdən*, Ts.B *χordon*, Al.B *χurdən*, Kalm. *χurdən* id.

Mo. *qonžijasun* < \**qondiγasun* 'posterior' ~ *qondolaj* < \**qonda-*

*laž* 'hip', MMo. (SH) *qonžijasun* 'posterior', Mong. *quändžiäṣ* id., Urd. *χondolə* 'croup, crupper' (of a horse), Kh. *χondolpē* id., Al.B *χonzōhoṇ* 'posterior', Kalm. *χondpsṇ* 'the joint between the hips', *χondplā* 'hip'.

Mo. *qajar* 'two', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *qajar*, Mog. *qojör*, Dag. *χojir* ~ *χojr*, Mong. *gōr* < \**qoyar*, Urd. *χojor*, Kh. *χojjır*, Bur. *χojor*, Kalm. *χojr* id.

(b) Mo. *qalayun* 'hot', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qala'un*, Mog. *qalūn* ~ *qalöun*, Mong. *χalōη*, Urd. *χalūn*, Kh. *χalūη*, Bur. *χalūη*, Kalm. *χalūn* id.

Mo. *qabar* ~ *qamar* < \**qanar* 'nose' (cf. Mo. *qansijar* 'snout'), MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qabar*, Mog. *qabar*, Dag. *χamar*, Mong. *χawar*, Urd. *χamar*, Kh. *χamor*, Bur. *χamar*, Kalm. *χamṛ* 'nose'.

Mo. *qulusun* 'reed, bamboo', MMo. (Mu.) *qulusun*, Mong. *χuludze*, Urd. *χulusu*, Kh. *χulləs*, Ts.B *χoloso*, Al.B *χulahaṇ*, Kalm. *χulsṇ* id.

Mo. *qola* 'far', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qola*, Mog. *qolō*, Dag. *χola*, Mong. *χulo*, Urd. *χolo*, Kh. *χollo*, Bur. *χolo*, Kalm. *χolō* id.

Mo. *qojina* 'after, behind', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *qojina* ~ (Mu.) *qožna*, Dag. *χožin*, Mong. *χučno*, Urd. *χočno*, Kh. *χočenw*, Al.B *χočno*, Kalm. *χōnō* id.

(c) Mo. *qatayu* 'hard', MMo. (Mu.) *qata'u*, Dag. *χatō*, Mong. *χadōη*, Urd. *qatū*, Kh. South *qatū*, Kh. North *χatū*, Bur. *χatū*, Kalm. *χatū* id.

Mo. *qačar* 'cheek', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qačar*, Mong. *χadžiär*, Urd. *qatšar*, Kh. North *χatsv̥r*, Bur. *χasar*, Kalm. *χatsṛ* id.

Mo. *quča* 'ram', MMo. (Mu.) *quča* ~ *γuča*, Mong. *χudžiä*, Urd. *γutša*, Kh. North *χutsv̥*, Bur. *χusa*, Kalm. *χutsv̥* id.

Mo. *quča-* 'to bark', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *quča-* id., Mog. *qučanā* 'he barks', Mong. *χudžiä-* 'to bark', Urd. *qutša-*, Kh. North *χutsv̥-*, Bur. *χusa-*, Kalm. *χutsv̥-* id.

(d) Mo. *qara* 'black', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qara*, Mog. *qarō*, Dag. *χara* ~ *χar*, Mong., Urd., Bur. *χara*, Kh., Kalm. *χarv̥* id.

Mo. *qabur* 'spring', Dag. *χaur*, Urd. *χawur*, Kh. *χawv̥r*, Kalm. *χawṛ* id.

Mo. *qonin* 'sheep', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qonin*, Mog. *qonin*, Dag. *χoni*, Mong., Urd. *χoni*, Kh., BB *χoni*, Al.B *χoniη*, Kalm. *χōn* id.

73. (B) The post-velar (deep-velar) stop \*q before \*i has developed in another way.

The consonant \*q before \*i developed into a post-mediopalatal k. This occurred at an early date and was connected with the development of the back vowel \*i into the front vowel i. In other words, the syllables \*qi and \*ki ultimately converged. An analogic process was that of the transformation of the syllable \*yi into gi which will be discussed later.

The syllable \*qi existed in Common Mongolian and continued to exist in Ancient Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian. The development \*qi > ki started in Middle Mongolian. In old manuscripts written in Pre-classical Mongolian (as late as in the XIV century) forms with qi both at the beginning of words and in the middle still occurred, although in many words the syllable qi was replaced by ki. In the language of the hPags-pa script no words with qi at the beginning are attested, but in other Middle Mongolian sources there are many forms with \*qi which is written as q(a), although there are also many forms with ki < \*qi (b). In the language of the *Secret History*, for instance, qi has become ki consistently. At the present time Mogol is the only known spoken language which has preserved the syllable qi.

In languages in which \*q and \*k are still distinguished the syllable \*qi > ki is preserved as ki, while \*q has become χ in other positions.

The syllable \*qi has developed into tš in Mongolian: \*qi > \*qi > \*ki > \*ki > tši. In other languages or dialects, which are still explored insufficiently, \*qi > ki has become tši, e.g., in Shirongol. In Buriat, namely in the Alar dialect, \*q before \*i is preserved as χ only in the pronunciation of the older generation (in 1928 people pronouncing χ were forty or older) and is replaced by s in the speech of the younger generation. In the Bokhan dialect it is s ~ t, in the dialects of Unga, Nizhneudinsk, and in Ekhirit spoken on the island of Ol'khon it is t.

In Dagur, Urdus, and Kalmuck \*q before \*i has become k. In Khalkha and in the dialects Tsongol, Sartul, Aga, Khori, Barguzin, and in Bargu-Buriat the consonant \*q before \*i is represented by a χ no different from the developments in other positions. It is usually palatalized in Buriat, however.

The consonant \*q before \*i at the beginning  
of stems:

CM, AM	*q,
Mo.	q (in the XIV century), k (in more recent sources),
MMo.: Mu.	q,
P	k',
SH	k,
Mog.	q,
Dag.	k,
Mong.	tš,
Urd.	k̥,
Kh., BB	χ,
AgaB, Kh.B	χ̥,
Al.B	s (~χ in the language of the older generation),
Bokh.B	s ~ t̥,
Ekh.B (Olkhon)	t̥,
Nizhn., Unga	t̥,
Kalm.	k.

In stems in which the vowel \*i < \*ī became another vowel long ago (i.e., where the »breaking« of \*i took place before the developments in question) the consonant χ remains unpalatalized in Buriat. The same occurs also in stems in which progressive palatalization took place instead of the regressive palatalization.

Mo. *qilyasun* (XIV cent.) ~ *kilyasun* 'hair', MMo. (Mu.) *qilyasun* ~ (SH) *kilyasun*, Mog. *qilyasun*, Urd. *kilgasu* 'horsehair', Kh. *χialgas*, Al.B *śilgāhan*, Ekh.B (Olkhon) *tilgāhan*, Bokh.B *śilgāhan*, Kalm. *kilyasñ* id.

Mo. *qimusun* (XIV cent.) ~ *kimusun* 'nail, claw', MMo. (Mu.) *qimusun* ~ (SH) *kimusu* ~ (Yi yü) *čumusu*, Mog. *qimsun*, Mong. *tšimudž*, Golong *čsimse*, Shirongol *tšumisu*, Dag. *kimči*, Urd. *χumusu*, Kh. *χumus*, BB *χumuhu*, Al.B *śumahan*, UngaB, Ekh.B (Olkh.) *tumahan*, Bokh.B *śumahan* ~ *tumahan*, Kalm. *χumsñ* id.

Mo. *qirya-* (XIV cent.) ~ *kirya*- 'to cut hair, to trim', MMo. (Mu.) *qirya-* ~ (SH) *kirya*- id., Mog. *qiryana* 'he cuts hair', Mong. *tširgā-* 'to cut hair', Urd. *kirga-*, Kh. *χargv-*, Kalm. *kiryp*- id.

Mo. *qituya* (XIV cent.) ~ *kituya* 'knife', MMo. (Mu.) *qituya* ~ (SH) *kituyaj*, Mog. *qitqej* < \**qituyač*, Mong. *tsidoguo*, Shirongol *tsitogo* ~ *šitogo*, Kh. *χutvgn*, Al.B *χotogo* id.

Mo. \**qiyursun* ~ *kijursun* 'nit', Mong. *tsirdzə* 'eggs of lice', Urd. *gūrsu* 'nit', Kh. *χursv*, Kh.B *χürhan*, Al.B *sürhan*, Bokh.B *sürhan* ~ *türhan*, Kalm. *χursn* 'nit'.

74. The cases of sonorization of the initial \**q* in Urdus and in Gobi Khalkha before a syllable beginning with a strong stop or affricate (or with a voiceless spirant), with the exception of cases in which the initial syllable is closed by *n*, *ŋ* or *m*, may be of ancient or recent origin. There is no way to determine this. The sonorization of the initial \**q* in Middle Mongolian, on the other hand, is ancient. The latter phenomenon is of a different origin. The initial \**y* in some Mongolian languages is voiceless (i.e., it is *q*) and almost does not differ from *k* (= *q*). A consequence of this was the frequent confusion of the initial \**q* and \**y* in Middle Mongolian sources. The following examples have been taken from the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*:

*yačarni* 'his cheeks' ~ *qačar* 'cheek',

*yalbuya* ~ *qalbuya* 'spoon',

▼ *yaqača'ulba* 'he separated (someone)' ~ *qaqačaba* 'he separated',  
*yizär* 'frontier, edge' ~ *qižär* id.,

*yonin* ~ *qonin* 'sheep',

*yora* ~ *qora* 'poison',

*yoraqač* ~ *qorayač* 'worm',

*yuča* ~ *quča* 'ram',

*judalduqu* ~ *qudalduqu* 'to sell',

*yurut* 'cheese' ~ IM *qurud* 'whey, buttermilk'.

75. In Common Mongolian \**q* already alternated with *Zero* at the beginning of certain words. Thus, pairs of words with \**q*- and with no consonant at the beginning appeared. Therefore, sometimes parallel forms occur in one and the same language, namely forms with \**q*- and with no consonant at the beginning. Sometimes a stem has the consonant \**q* at the beginning in one language, while in another language it occurs with no \**q*.

Mo. *qituya* (XIV cent.) ~ *kituya* 'knife', MMo. (Mu.) *qituya* ~

(SH) *kituyaž*, Mog. *qitqež*, Mong. *tsidoguo*, Kh. *χutnγv*, Al.B *χologo*  
id. ~ \**ituya* ~ \**utuya* > Urd. *utaga*, Kalm. *utγv* ~ *utχv* id.

Mo. *garbin* 'the fat in the abdomen of animals, abdominal grease',  
MMo. (SH) *qarbisu* 'placenta', Urd. *χarwin* 'fat of the abdomen',  
Kh. *χärwηn*, Al.B *arban*, Kalm. *χärwη* ~ *ärwη* 'abdominal fat'.

The examples are not numerous. It is possible that this was not a phonetic alternation, but the result of a mutual influence of phonetically and, perhaps, semantically similar words, e.g., *qarbin* 'abdominal fat' and *arbin* 'plentiful'. There is, however, another explanation, which might be more convincing.

The forms with no initial *q* may originally have been forms of the women's language. It is known that the women of some Mongolian tribes even in recent times were not allowed to use certain words. Instead, they used synonyms or they modified the words concerned phonetically. Thus, the Kalmuck women used special substitute words for expressions used in men's speech. On the other hand, the Darkhats in the region of lake Kosogol in Outer Mongolia modified certain words phonetically. The forms lacking their initial \**q* could be such phonetic modifications. This is, of course, only a hypothesis.

76. As stated above, the consonant \**q* does not occur at the end of syllables or stems. It is very usual in intervocalic position and after a consonant and before a vowel.

The medial \**q* developed in different manners before \**i* and before other vowels.

(A) Common Mongolian \**q* before vowels other than \**i*:

CM, AM	* <i>q</i> ,
Mo.	<i>q</i> ,
MMo.: Mu.	<i>q</i> ~ <i>γ</i> ,
P	<i>q</i> ,
SH	<i>q</i> ,
Mog.	<i>q</i> ,
Dag.	<i>γ</i> but after a consonant * <i>q</i> > <i>χ</i> ,
Mong.	(a) <i>χ</i> 1. on the boundary between the initial and the

second syllable in words not containing strong consonants or weak stops;

2. immediately after a long vowel;
3. immediately after a nasal consonant,

(b) *g* on the boundary of the initial and the second syllable in words in which the initial consonant is either a strong one in origin or a secondary strong consonant originating from \**y*, \**g*, \**b* or \**d*; immediately after a voiceless spirant or a liquid consonant,

Urd.                  *χ*,

Onniut, Jostu      *γ* (the examples are not numerous),

Kh., Ts.B, Sart.B *χ*; between two short vowels on the boundary between the initial and the second syllable, it is *xx*,

Al.B, Ekh.B, AgaB., Kh.B *χ*,

Kalm.                  *χ*.

(a) Mo. *migan* 'meat', MMo. (Mu.) *migan*, Dag., *maya*, Mog. *miqōn*, Mong., Urd. *maxa*, Kh. *maxxv*, Al.B *maxan*, Kalm. *maxv* id.

Mo. *noqač* 'dog', MMo. (Mu.) *noqač* ~ (IM) *nɔyaič*, Dag. *noyo*, Mog. *noqeč*, Mong. *noχuč*, Urd. *noχā*, Kh. *noχvē*, Al.B *noχō*, Kalm.D *noχā*, Kalm.T *noχā* id.

Mo. *daqu* 'fur coat', Mong. *dāχu* 'an ancient garment of Mongolian women', Urd. *daxu*, Kh. *daxxv*, Bur., Kalm. *daxv* 'a short fur coat'.

Mo. *lonqo* 'bottle', Mong. *lōŋχuo*, Urd. *lonχo*, Kh., Kalm. *lonχv* id.

(b) Mo. *yaqač* 'hog, pig', MMo. (Mu.) *yaqač*, Dag. *gaya*, Mog. *γōqəč*, Mong. *χaqč*, Urd. *gaxā*, Kh. *gaxvē*, Al.B *gaxā*, Kalm.T *gaxā* id.

Mo. *saqal* 'beard', MMo. (Mu.) *saqal*, Dag. *sayal* id., Mog. *saqalaq* 'the lower jaw' (Mog. *sayal* 'beard' is a Turkic loanword), Mong. *sagar* 'beard, moustache', Urd. *saxal*, Jostu *sayal*, Kh. *saxxvl*, BB *haxxvl*, Al.B *haxal*, Kalm. *saxl* 'beard'.

Mo. *oqor* < \**hoqar* < \**poqar* 'short', MMo. (IM) *hoqar*, Mog. *uqar*, Mong. *χugvor*, Shirongol *χukur*, Kh. *oxvor*, Bur. *oxor* id., Bur. *oxotor* 'having no tail', Kalm. *oxr* 'short'.

Mo. *žaqa* 'edge, collar', MMo. (Mu.) *žaqa*, Mong. *džiäga* 'collar',

Urd. *džaxa* id., Onniut *džaya* 'frontier', Kh. *džaxxv* 'edge, frontier, collar', Bur., Kalm. *zaxv* id.

Mo. *toqom* < \**toqam* 'a piece of felt put under the saddle', MMo. (IM) *toqom*, Mong. *tugun*, Urd. *doxom*, Kh. *toχxm*, Bur. *toχom*, Kalm. *toχom* id.

Mo. *toqax* 'elbow', Mog. *tuqeč*, Mong. *tugui*, Urd. *doχñ*, Kh. *toχvē*, Al.B *toχonok*, Kalm.T *toχā* id.

77. (B) The deep-velar stop \**q* before \**i* in the middle of stems developed similarly to its developments at the beginning of words. It has also resulted in *k* in the same languages mentioned before, but in the languages in which intervocalic \**q* has developed into *γ* or *g* the strong velar stop \**q* has become *g* before \**i*. In Monguor it has become a weak affricate *dž*.

The deep-velar stop \**q* before \**i* has resulted in the following sounds in medial position:

CM, AM	* <i>q</i> ,
Mo.	<i>q</i> (pre-classical), <i>k</i> (in recent documents),
MMo.: Mu.	<i>q</i> ,
P	<i>q</i> and <i>k'</i> ,
SH	<i>k</i> ,
Mog.	<i>k</i> ,
Dag.	<i>g</i> (between vowels), <i>k</i> (after a consonant, but sometimes also in intervocalic position),
Mong. (a)	<i>dž</i> ,
(b)	<i>g</i> (before <i>i</i> < * <i>i</i> , rarely before other developments of * <i>i</i> ), <i>g</i> (before * <i>i</i> > vowel other than <i>i</i> ),
(c)	<i>k</i> (after a long vowel),
Urd.	<i>k</i> (in intervocalic position <i>χχ</i> ),
Kh.	<i>χ</i> , <i>χχ</i> (on the boundary of the initial and second syllable, provided that both are short),
Al.B	<i>s</i> ,

Bokh.B             $\dot{s} \sim t$ ,

Ekh.B (Ol'khon)  $t$ ,

Kalm.             $k$ .

(a) Mo. čakirma < \*čaqırma 'wild iris, flower-de-Luce', Dag. *tsakılduq*, Mong. *tsidžirmā*, Urd. *džakirmak*, Kh. *tsaxxıldvök*, Kalm. *tsakldvq* id.

Mo. *qakiliy* 'a kind of partridge', Mong. *gašilaq*, Urd. *qakil* id.

Mo. *qakiru-* 'to expectorate, to clear the throat', Mong. *χadžirā-* 'to make a sound with the throat', Urd. *gakira-*, Kh. *χaxxırı-* 'to expectorate'.

(b) Mo. *saki-* < \*saqī- 'to watch, to protect', MMo. (Mu.) *saqba* 'he protected' ~ (P) *saqiqčin* 'those protecting, those who protect' ~ (SH) *saki-* 'to protect', Dag. *sagi-* id., Mong. *sagi-*, Urd. *saki-*, Kh. *sáxχi-*, Kh.B *haχi-*, Kalm. *säki-* 'to protect'.

Mo. *žoki-* 'to be appropriate, to befit', MMo. (Mu.) *žoqi-* id. ~ (P) *žoqijaqu* 'to establish', Mog. *džoyālyanā* < \*žoqijalya- 'to cause to make', Mong. *tsugu-* 'to be appropriate, to befit', Urd. *džoxxiro-* id., Kh. *dzoχχi-* id., Al.B *zośod-bēi* < \*žoqis ügež 'unfit, indecent', Kalm. *zok-* 'to suit, to befit'.

Mo. čoki- 'to beat', MMo. (SH) *čoki-*, Mong. *tsugu-* 'to pick (birds with their beak), to peck', Urd. *džoxxi-* 'to beat', Kh. *tsóχχi-*, Kh.B *soχi-*, BB *soχχi-*, Al.B *sośo-*, Kalm. *tsok-* id.

Mo. *bokir* 'cripple', Mong. *bogodi* 'hobbling along, clopin-clopant', Urd. *boχχir*, Kh. *boχχır* 'lame, cripple, disabled', Kalm. *bokř* id.

Mo. *takija* < \*taqīya 'hen', MMo. (Mu.) *taq'i'a* ~ (Leyden Glossary) *tayawut* < \*taqayut 'hens' ~ (P) *tak'ija* 'hen' ~ (SH) *takija* < \*taqīya, Mong. *tagū* < \*taqīyu (cf. Turk.: Uig. *taqīyu*), Urd. *dakā*, Kh. *taχiā*, BB *taχiā*, Al.B *taśā*, Kalm. *takā* id.

Mo. čikin < \*čiqin 'ears', MMo. (Mu.) *čiqin* ~ (SH) *čikin*, Dag. *tsiki*, Mog. *tsikin* ~ *tšekin* < \*čikin < \*čiqin, Mong. *tsigi*, Urd. *džiχxe*, Kh. *tsiχχə*, Bur. *şeqeqə*, Kalm. *tšikn* id.

Mo. *aγuški* < \*ayusqī 'lungs', MMo. (Mu.) *a'uski*, Dag. *aurki*, Mong. *ōsgī*, Urd. *ūški*, Kh. *ūṣig*, Al.B *ūšχv*, Kalm. *ōškī* id.

Mo. *muški-* < \*mučki- < \*mučqī- 'to twist', MMo. (IM) *mučkiba* 'he squeezed' (this translation given in the original is wrong and it

should be 'he twisted'), Dag. *morki-*, Mong. *muṣgi-* 'to twist', Urd. *muški-*, Kh. *mušχi-*, Al.B *mušχa-*, Kalm. *muškl-* 'to turn, to rotate, to suffer from convulsions, to have spasms'.

(c) Mo. *dayaki* 'lumpy fur, hair which has become a lump', Mong. *dākir*, Urd. *dāχi*, Kh. *dāχi*, Al.B *dāša*, Kalm. *dākv* ~ *dākə* id.

#### \*k

78. The post-mediopalatal \*k, i.e., the front \*k, occurred only in words with front vowels. Later on, when \*q before \*i > i converged with \*k, this consonant occurred also in stems with back vowels.

The consonant \*k did not occur at the end of syllables or words.

The consonant \*k remains a stop in Middle Mongolian (k in Moslem sources and in the *Secret History*, k' in ḥP'ags-pa script) and in a number of languages spoken at the present time, namely in Dagur, Mogol, Monguor, Urdus, Kalmuck, and in the Buriat dialect spoken in the Nizhneudinsk region.

The consonant \*k has resulted in g in Urdus and in the Gobi dialect of Khalkha in words with the second syllable beginning with a strong stop or affricate or a voiceless spirant. The sonorization probably began in Middle Mongolian, because in the *Secret History* and in the language of the ḥP'ags-pa script the development \*k > g at the beginning of words does occur. However, while in Urdus the sonorization is a result of the influence of the consonant of the following syllable (a sort of dissimilation: strong — strong becomes weak — strong), in Middle Mongolian and in a few words in Dagur the sonorization is a result of other causes which remain obscure. It is possible, however, that in Middle Mongolian this was not a sonorization at all, but a confusion of \*k with the initial \*g which was voiceless and might have been mistaken for k. In other words, this may be confusion in orthography.

It might be useful to dwell a bit longer on the orthographic confusion of \*k and \*g in ancient sources.

The Arabic script of the Moslem sources on Middle Mongolian

does not distinguish between *k* and *g*. Therefore, these sources cannot be taken into consideration.

SH *gebte-* 'to lie down' = Mo. *kebte-*, Dag. *kerte-*, Mong. *kidiē-*, Urd. *gebte-*, Kh. *χewta-*, Kalm. *kewt<sup>2</sup>-* id.

SH *gejit* 'house', P *gejid* 'dwelling' = Mo. *kejid* 'lamasery' (in the XIV century 'dwelling'), Urd. *kid* 'lamasery', Kh. *χid*, Kalm. *kid* id.

SH *gönžile* 'blanket, coverlet' = Mong. *guändžiliän*, Urd. *köndžil*, Kh. *χöndžil*, Al.B *χönžöl*, Kalm. *köndžil* id.

SH *gödöl-* 'to move', Mong. *gudoli-* id. = Mo. *ködel-*, Urd. *ködöl-*, Kh. *χöddal-*, Kalm. *ködjl-* id.

SH, H *gü'ün* 'person, man' = Mo. *kümün*, P *k'ü'ün*, Dag. *kū*, Mong. *kun*, Urd. *kun*, Kh. *χun*, Bur. *χun* ~ *χūn*, Kalm. *kümñ* ~ *kūn* id.

There are many more words beginning with *g* in the *Secret History*, which correspond to forms with *k-* in Written Mongolian:

*genö'er* 'discontent' = Mo. *könüger*.

*go'ür* 'a small container made of leather' = Kalm. *kür* 'a leather sack for liquids'.

*güčün* 'strength' = Mo. *küčün*.

*güžü'ün* 'neck' = Mo. *küžügün*.

*gülüče-* 'to wait' = Dag. *kuuldže-* id., Mo. *küliče-* 'to indulge'.

*gürdüün* 'wheel' = Mo. *kürdüün*.

*güre'en* 'fence' = Mo. *kürijen*.

*güregen* 'son-in-law' = Mo. *kürgen*.

*gür-* 'to arrive' = Mo. *kiir-*.

*güse-* 'to desire' = Mo. *küse-*.

*gü'ürge* 'drum' = Mo. *kügürge*.

In Dagur there are only a few words beginning with *g* < \**k*. The Dagur form *gel-* 'to say, to speak' = Mo. *kele-*, Kh. *χellə-* < \**kelele-* id. from *kelen* 'tongue, language' = Dag. *keli*, is probably due to the influence by the verbal stem \**ge-* 'to say' = Kh. *ge-* id. < \**geme-* ~ \**keme-* (vide infra).

79. Here we shall discuss the developments of the initial consonant \**k* before vowels other than \**i*.

CM, AM	*k,
Mo.	k,
MMo.: SH	k and (in consequence of confusion) g,
P	k' and (rarely) g,
Dag.	k,
Mong.	(a) g in monosyllabic words with an open syllable; also before *d, *ž, and *g, (b) k when the second syllable begins with a primary strong consonant (*k, *t, *č) which has become a weak consonant (i.e., g, d, dž respectively) or *s > dz, when the second syllable begins with s and in all cases with the exception of those under (a),
Urd., Gobi Kh.	(c) g at the beginning of stems the initial syllable of which (always short) is closed by a voiceless spirant or the second syllable of which begins with a strong stop or affricate or a voiceless spirant; exceptions are stems with their initial syllable closed by *n or *m, (d) k in the remaining cases,
Gobi Kh.	(d) χ in the remaining cases,
North Kh.	χ,
West Kh.	χ,
Nizhn.B	k,
Other Bur. dialects	χ,
Mog. and Kalm.	k.
	(a) Mo. ködel- 'to move', MMo. (SH) gödöl-, Mong. gudoli-, Urd. ködöl-, Kh. χëddal-, Al.B χïdöl-, Kalm. ködl- id. Mo. küži 'incense', Dag. kuudži, Mong. guudži, Urd. kuudži, Kh. χuuddži, Kalm. küdži id.
	Mo. küžügün 'neck', MMo. (SH) güžüün, Dag. kuudžū, Mong. gudži, Urd. kuudžū, Mog. kuudžün, Kalm. küzün id.
	(b) Mo. köke 'blue', MMo. (SH) kökö, Dag. kuukę, Mong. kuguo, Urd. gökkö, Kh. χükkä, Al.B χëkkü, Mog. kuukä, Kalm. kök' id.

Mo. *kötöl-* 'to lead', MMo. (SH) *kötöl* 'a reserve horse' (which is led by the bridle when one rides a horse), Mong. *kudoli-* 'to lead', Urd. *götöl-*, Kh. *χü̠tal-*, Kalm. *kö̠l-* 'to lead'.

Mo. *küčün* < \**küčin* 'strength', MMo. (SH) *güčün* ~ (P) *k'üč'ün*, Dag. *kutši*, Mong. *kudži*, Urd. *gutši*, Kh. *χutši*, Al.B *χušqη*, Kalm. *kütšη* id.

Mo. *kösi-* 'to cool off, to grow numb', Mong. *kuose-* id., Urd. *gošūn* 'stiff', *gösö-* 'to become stiff, to stiffen', Kh. *χöšür-* 'to grow numb'.

(c) Mo. *keseg* 'piece', MMo. (SH) *keseg*, Mong. *kidzag*, Urd. *gesek*, Gobi Kh. *gessək*, North Kh. *χessək*, Al.B *χeħək*, Kalm. *kesəg* id.

Mo. *kökön* < \**köken* 'breast', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *köken*, Mong. *kuguo*, Urd. *göχχö*, North Kh. *χüχxa*, Mog. *kökä*, Kalm. *kökη* id.

(d) Mo. *kelen* 'tongue, language', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *kelen*, Dag. *keli*, Mong. *kilie*, Urd. *kele*, Kh. *χellə*, Al.B *χelen*, Mog. *kelän*, Kalm. *kely* id.

Mo. *kür-* 'to reach', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *kür-*, Dag. *kuur-*, Mong. *kuru-*, Urd. *kur-*, Kh., Bur. *χur-* id., Mog. *kuuruna* 'he reaches, he arrives', Kalm. *kür-* 'to reach'.

80. Before \**i* the consonant \**k* at the beginning of words results in *tš* in Monguor in all cases with the exception of monosyllabic words. In the Alar dialect of the Buriat language \**k* before \**i* (and also before a secondary *i*) becomes *s*; in Bokhan *s* ~ *t*, in the Ekhirit dialect spoken on the island of Ol'khon it is *t*. In all remaining dialects of the Buriat language and also in all remaining Mongolian languages the consonant \**k* before \**i* develops in the same manner as before vowels other than \**i*.

Mo. *ki-* < CM \**ki-* < \**qi-* 'to do, to put' (cf. Turk. *qıl-* 'to do, to make'), MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ki-* ~ (P) *k'i-*, Dag. *ki-*, Mong. *gi-*, Urd. *ki-*, Kh. *χi-*, Bur. *χe-* id., Mog. *kenä* 'he does', Kalm. *ke-* (this monosyllabic stem with \**k* < \**q* is an example of irregular development and it does not have *s* in Alar Buriat but *χ* which is due to the development \**i* > *q*).

Mo. *kirüge* 'saw', MMo. (SH) *kirü'e* ~ (Mu.) *kirö*, Mong. *tširü*, Urd. *körö*, Kh. *χörö*, Kalm. *köre* id.

Mo. *kirbegesün* 'trimming', Mong. *tsiriē* 'edge', Kalm. *kirwesen* 'clippings, scraps, everything remaining after something is cut'.

AM \**kigi* 'dry dung', Al.B *sī* id., Bokh.B *śi* ~ *tī* id. (cf. Turk.: Yakut *kī* < \**kij* < \**kig* id.).

Mo. *kej* 'wind, air', *kejis-* 'to fly in the wind', MMo. (SH) *kej* 'wind', *kejis-* 'to fly in the wind' ~ (Mu.) *kej* 'wind', *kejsbe* 'he flew in the wind, it was flown by the wind', Dag. *kejñ* 'wind', Mong. *kī* 'wind', Urd. *kī* 'air', Kh. *χī* 'air', *χis-* 'to be flown by the wind', Al.B *sīdē-* 'to be flown by the wind', Mog. *kej* 'wind, air', Mog. *kej-dānā* 'it blows', Kalm. *kīs-* 'to be flown in the wind'.

81. The consonant \**k* occurs also in the middle of words, but it never occurs at the end of a syllable.

Here the developments are the same as at the beginning of words in Written Mongolian, Mogol, Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and in Kalmyk. Before \**i* the intervocalic consonant \**k* develops in the languages mentioned in the same manner as an initial \**k* before \**i*.

In Middle Mongolian, namely in the language of the *Secret History* and in the ḥP'ags-pa script, the intervocalic \**k* results in *g* in many stems. It is difficult to establish definite rules, because this sonorization is not systematic.

In the language of the ḥP'ags-pa script the suffix of the *Nomen futuri* occurs with the consonant *g* instead of *k*, cf. P -*giü̇* in *bügię-dür* 'during the sojourn', but on the other hand, *bükü* 'being'; P -*gü* in *ükügü* 'he will die', SH -*gü* in *iregü* 'to come', Mo. -*kü*, Dag. -*gu*, Mog. -*ku* and -*kui*, Mong. -*gu*, Urd. -*χu*, Kh. -*χə*, etc.

The examples from the *Secret History* show that this is a result of a confusion of *k* and *g* rather than a result of a phonetic development:

SH *bögötür* ~ *bökötür* 'bent, with a hump' = Mo. *bökötür* id.

SH *heregej* 'thumb' = Mo. *erekej*, Kh. *érχī* id.

SH *kegül* 'tuft of hair' = Mo. *kökül*, Urd. *guuχul*, Kh. *χüχal*, Kalm. *kökł* id.

SH *segü'ül-* 'to raise, to lift' = Mo. *sekü-*, Urd. *söχō-*, Kh. *süχχa-* id.

In Dagur intervocalic \**k*, in words beginning with \**q* > *h* > *Zero* or any strong stop or affricate or voiceless spirant and also after

consonants, results in *k* (a); *k* after *l* or *r* (b); in all remaining cases \**k* results in *g* in Dagur (c).

In Monguor \**k* on the boundary of the initial and the second syllable results in *g* when the word concerned begins with a strong stop (either a primary or secondary one), a strong affricate, or a voiceless spirant, and also immediately after \**s* or a liquid (c). In all remaining cases \**k* remains as *k* in Monguor (d). Before \**i* it sometimes becomes *dž* in Monguor (e).

CM, AM	* <i>k</i> ,
Mo.	<i>k</i> ,
MMo.: SH	<i>k</i> (sometimes also <i>g</i> ),
P	<i>k'</i> (in a few words <i>k</i> ; in the suffix of Nom. fut. <i>g</i> ),
Dag.	(a) <i>k</i> between the vowel of the initial and the second syllable in words beginning with * <i>ɸ</i> > <i>h</i> > Zero or in words beginning with any strong stop or affricate, (b) <i>k</i> after the consonant <i>l</i> or <i>r</i> < any consonant closing the initial syllable, (c) <i>g</i> in words beginning with a vowel or a weak consonant (or a voiced consonant, particularly nasal),
Mong.	(a) <i>g</i> on the boundary of the initial and the second syllable in words beginning with any primary strong stop or affricate or a voiceless spirant, (b) <i>g</i> immediately after <i>s</i> or a liquid consonant, (c) <i>g</i> in words beginning with any primary weak consonant which has now become a strong consonant. [Note: The examples under (c) refer to Dagur in the first place, but they illustrate also rule (b) for Monguor and in this case they are marked with (b)], (d) <i>k</i> when the word concerned begins with a nasal, (e) <i>dž</i> before * <i>i</i> ,
Urd.	<i>kχ</i> ,

Kh.West	$\chi$ ,
Kh.North	$\chi$ , between two short vowels $\chi\chi$ ,
BB, AgaB, Kh.B	$\chi$ ,
Al.B	$\chi$ , but $s$ before *i,
Bokh.B	$\chi$ , but $s \sim t$ before *i,
Ekh.B (Ol'khon)	$\chi$ , but $t$ before *i,
Mog., Kalm.	k.

(a) Mo. *üker* 'cow, ox', MMo. (SH) *häker*, Dag. *ukur*, Mong. *fuguar*, Urd. *uχer*, Kh. *uχχar*, Bur. *uχer*, Mog. *ukär*, Kalm. *ükr* id.

Mo. *köke* 'blue', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *köke*, Dag. *kuke*, Mong. *kuguo*, Urd. *gō<sup>h</sup>χō*, Kh. *χüχxa*, Al.B *χüχv*, Mog. *kuukā*, Kalm. *kök<sup>h</sup>* id.

Mo. *keükken* 'child', MMo. (SH) *ke'ükken* id.; Dag. *kəwke* 'son, child', Mong. *kugän* 'infant, boy', Urd. *kū<sup>h</sup>χen*, Kh. *χūχən* 'girl', BB, AgaB *χügeñ* (a rare case of sonorization in Buriat), Mog. *köukät* 'children', Kalm. *kükη* 'girl, child'.

Mo. *süke* 'axe', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *süke*, Mong. *soguo*, Urd. *sū<sup>h</sup>χe*, Kh. *suχxa*, Al.B *huχe*, Kalm. *sük<sup>h</sup>* id.

AM \**niken* > Mo. *nigen* (a rare case of sonorization) 'one', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *niken* ~ (P) *nik'en*, Dag. *nékə*, Mong. *nige* (an anomalous development), Urd. *nege*, Kh. *nēgə*, Bur. *nēgen*, Mog. *nikān*, Kalm. *nēgn* id. (These anomalous developments make this an example partly belonging to group c).

(b) Mo. *ayuski* < \**ayusqī* 'lungs', MMo. (Mu.) *a'uški*, Dag. *aurki*, Mong. *ösgi*, Urd. *uški*, Kh. *üšig*, Al.B *ušχa*, Kalm. *öšk<sup>h</sup>* id.

Mo. *berke* 'difficult', Dag. *bérke*, Mong. *pierge*, Urd. *ber<sup>h</sup>χe*, Kh. *bérχə*, Bur. *bérχe* id.

Mo. *tülli-* 'to push', Dag. *tulki-*, Mong. *turgu-*, Urd. *dulkī-*, Kh. *tulχī-*, Al.B *tulše-* id., Mog. *tulkunā* 'he pushes', Kalm. *tülk<sup>h</sup>-* 'to push'.

(c) Mo. *büküli* 'complete', Dag. *bwigil*, Mong. *pugili* (a), Urd. *bū<sup>h</sup>χwli*, Kh. *bwχχal*, Kalm. *bük<sup>h</sup>l* id.

Mo. *jeke* 'big, much, very, greatly', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *jeke* ~ (P) *jēk'e* (but not *jēk'e*), Dag. *jiye* ~ *jige*, Mong. *sge* (b), Urd. *i<sup>h</sup>χe*, Kh. *jixxə*, Bur. *jēχe*, Mog. *ika* ~ *ekā*, Kalm. *ik<sup>h</sup>* id.

Mo. *ükü-* 'to die', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ükü-* ~ (P) *ük'ü-*, Dag. *uguu-*, Mong. *fugu-* (a), Urd. *u<sup>k</sup>χu-*, Kh. *uχχa-*, Bur. *uχə-* id., Mog. *ukunā* 'he dies', Kalm. *ük<sup>u</sup>-* 'to die'.

Mo. *žirüken* 'heart', MMo. (SH) *žirüge* ~ (Mu.) *žürüken*, Dag. *džuruwgu*, Mong. *džierge* (b), Urd. *džuruhχe*, Kh. *dzuřχə* ~ *dzuurag*, Bur. *zuirχen*, Mog. *džurká*, Kalm. *zürkŋ* id.

Mo. *degereki* 'upper', MMo. (Mu.) *dēreki*, Dag. *dēregi*, Mong. *deregu* (b), Urd. *dērehχi*, Kh. *dērχi*, Al.B *dērse*, Kalm. *dērk<sup>a</sup>* id.

Mo. *eke* 'mother', MMo. (SH) *eke*, Dag. *ege* ~ *eg* ~ *ey*, Urd. *e<sup>k</sup>χe*, Kh. *éχχə*, Bur. *ęχę*, Kalm. *ek<sup>a</sup>* id.

(d) Mo. *nökör* < \**nöker* 'friend', MMo. (SH) *nökör* ~ (Mu.) *nöker* id., Dag. *nuguir* 'husband', Mong. *nokuor* 'friend, mate, Urd. *nö<sup>k</sup>χör* id., Kh. *nüχχar* 'friend, mate, husband', Kh.B *nuxχer* 'comrade', Kalm. *nökr* 'mate, husband'.

AM \**ebüken* > Mo. *ebügen* (a rare case of sonorization) 'old man', MMo. (SH) *ebügen*, Dag. *ęukę* < \**ebüke* 'elder brother of the mother, husband of the elder sister of the father', Urd. *öwögö* 'grandfather, father's father', *öwögön* 'old man', Kh. *ëwag* 'grandfather', *öwgaŋ* 'old man', Kh.B *ubegəŋ* 'old man', Al.B *ibügүη*, Kalm. *öwgŋ* id.

Mo. *nekej* 'a sheep skin, hide of a sheep', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *nekej*, Mong. *niki* 'skin of a sheep or goat', Urd. *ne<sup>k</sup>χi*, Kh. *neχi*, Kh.B *nęχe<sup>i</sup>*, Kalm. *nekε* id.

Mo. *neke-* 'to weave', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *neke-*, Mong. *niki-*, Urd. *ne<sup>k</sup>χe-*, Kh. *nęχχə-*, Kalm. *nek<sup>a</sup>-* id.

Mo. *nüke* 'hole, opening, MMo. (SH) *nükele-* 'to make holes' ~ (Mu.) *nüken* 'hole', Dag. *nugui*, Mong. *nokuo*, Urd. *nū<sup>k</sup>χe*, Kh. *nūχχə*, Al.B *nuxχen*, Kalm. *nükŋ* id.

(e) Mo. *ökin* 'girl, virgin', Dag. *ugin*, Mong. *fudžün*, Kh.B *uχin* id., Al.B *usibuit* < \**ökin köbegüd* 'children' ('girl and boys').

\*γ

82. The deep-velar consonant \*γ (or \*g) occurred only in stems with back vowels. After \*i had converged with \*i, the ancient syllable \*γi became gi.

The consonant  $*\gamma$  occurred at the beginning of words, in the middle (intervocally, after another consonant, and at the end of syllables), and in final position.

The consonant  $*\gamma$  exists in spoken languages in intervocalic position only in cases where it has not disappeared (vide §§ 32—36).

The consonant  $*\gamma$  was rather voiceless (but weak) in Middle Mongolian both in initial and intervocalic position. In the *Secret History*, in the ḥP'ags-pa script, and in Moslem sources it was transcribed with the letter or character for *q*, in other words, it was treated as a strong consonant.

(A) The consonant  $*\gamma$  at the beginning of stems, before vowels other than  $*i$ , has resulted in the following consonants:

CM, AM	$*\gamma$ ,
Mo.	$\gamma$ ,
MMo.: SH, P	<i>q</i> ,
Mu.	$\gamma$ or <i>q</i> ,
Dag.	<i>g</i> ,
Mong.	(a) $\chi$ when the initial consonant of the second syllable is a primary strong stop or affricate which has now become a weak stop or affricate respectively,
	(b) <i>g</i> in the remaining cases,
Urd., Kh.	<i>g</i> ,
Bur.	<i>g</i> ,
Mog.	$\gamma$ or <i>q</i> (as in Mu.),
Kalm.	<i>g</i> .

(a) Mo. *γaqai* 'pig', MMo. (SH) *qaqai* ~ (Mu.) *γaqai*, Dag. *gay*, Mong. *χaqe*, Urd. *gaxā*, Kh. *gaxə*, Al.B *gaxā*, Mog. *yōqe*, Kalm.T *gaxā* id.

Mo. *γučin* 'thirty', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qučin* ~ (Mu.) *γučin*, Dag. *gotši*, Mong. *χodžin*, Urd. *gutši*, Kh. *gutši*, Al.B *gušan*, Kalm. *quišn* id.

Mo. *γayčayar* 'alone, single', MMo. (SH) *qaqča'ar* ~ (Mu.) *γaqča'ar*, Dag. *qantši* 'lonely, single, alone', Urd. *gagtšār*, Kh. *gantsār*, Al.B *gansārā* 'alone', Kalm. *gaktsv* 'single'.

(b) Mo. *yar* 'arm, hand', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qar* ~ (Mu.) *yar*, Dag. *gari*, Mong., Urd., Kh., Al.B *gar*, Mog. *qar*, Kalm. *gar* id.

Mo. *yal* 'fire', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qal* ~ (Mu.) *yal*, Dag. *qali*, Mong. *gar*, Urd., Kh., Bur. *gal*, Mog. *yol*, Kalm. *gal* id.

Mo. *yasiyun* 'bitter', MMo. (SH) *qaši'un* ~ (Mu.) *yašün* id., Mong. *qasen*, Urd. *gašün*, Kh., Al.B *qašün* id., Mog. *yašün* 'salt, salty', Kalm. *gašün* 'bitter'.

Mo. *yoyosun* < \**yoyalsun* 'wild onion', MMo. (H) *yoyosun*, Dag. *goagas*, Mong. *goquor* < \**yoyol*, Urd. *gogot*, Kh. *gogvs* < \**yoyasun* < \**yoyalsun*, Bur. *gogot*, Kalm. *goyvsn* id.

Mo. *yuju-* 'to beg', MMo. (SH) *quju-* ~ (Mu.) *yujaba* 'he begged'; Dag. *goai-* 'to beg', Mong. *guērla-* 'to mendicant, to beg', Urd. *gu-*, Kh. *gujj-*, Kalm. *gū-* 'to beg'.

Mo. *yuja* 'femur, hip', MMo. (SH) *quja* ~ (Mu.) *yuja*, Dag. *goai*, Urd. *quja*, Kh. *gujjv*, Al.B *guja*, Mog. *yuja*, Kalm. *gujv* id.

Mo. *yurban* 'three', MMo. (SH, P) *qurban* ~ (Mu.) *yurban*, Dag. *goariwa*, Mong. *qurān*, Urd. *gurwa*, Kh. *guruv*, Al.B *qurban*, Mog. *yurbōn*, Kalm. *qurwñ* ~ *gorwñ* id.

83. (B) Before \**i*, which began to develop into *i* at an early date, the deep-velar voiced consonant \**γ* developed into *g* in most of the Mongolian languages, thus converging with \**g*. Through palatalization it became *j* in Buriat and *tš* in Monguor.

Before \**i* the consonant \**γ* at the beginning of words results in the following sounds:

CM, AM \**γ*,

Mo.      *γ* only in the pre-classical language,  
            *g* after the XIV century,

MMo.: SH *g*,

Mu. *γ* ~ *g*,

Dag.      *g*,

Mong.     *tš*,

Urd., Kh. *g*,

Bur.      *j*,

Mog.      no examples available,

Kalm.     *g*.

CM \*γiryabul > Mo. γuryuul 'pheasant' (cf. Turkic *qırıyalı*), Mong. ፩irgu, Urd., Kh., Bur. gurgül, Kalm. qoryul id. This is an irregular development in consequence of the »breaking« of \*i < \*i.

Mo. *gilayar* < \*γilayar 'bright, resplendent', Mo. *gilba-* < \*γilba- 'to glitter', Urd. *gilba-* id., Kh. *g'alvgor* 'resplendent', *g'alwā* < \*γilbayā id., *g'alw-* 'to glitter', Al.B *jalayar* ~ *jalagar* < \*γilayar id., Kalm. *gilgr* id.

84. Where \*γ in the middle of words was preserved it was so voiceless in Middle Mongolian that it was confused with q in script. In the ḥP'ags-pa script there is only one letter for q and γ. In Moslem sources \*γ in the middle of words and even in intervocalic position is frequently rendered with the letter for q. Before vowels other than \*i the consonant \*γ has become g in Dagur, q in Monguor, g in Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck, while it is γ in Mogol. Sometimes it results in χ in Buriat and Kalmuck.

(A) The consonant \*γ before vowels other than \*i:

CM, AM \*γ ~ \*q,

Mo. γ,

MMo.: SH q,

P q,

Mu. q ~ γ,

Dag. q,

Mong. q,

Urd., Kh. q,

Bur. q, sometimes χ,

Mog. γ and q,

Kalm. γ or q, but sometimes also χ.

Mo. *daya-* 'to follow', MMo. (SH) *daqa-*, Dag., Mong., Urd. *daga-*, Kh. *dagn-*, Bur., Kalm. *daxv-* id.

Mo. *doyolan* < \*doyalan 'limping', MMo. (Mu.) *doqolan*, Mong. *doglōn*, Urd. *dogolən*, Kh. *dogolnən*, Bur. *doχolən*, Kalm. *doyvly* id.

Mo. *ajaya* 'bowl', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ajaqa*, Dag., Urd. *ajaga*, Kh. *ajvng*, Kalm. *āγv* id.

Mo. *qayala-* 'to split, to plough', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qaqala-* id., Dag. *χaqar-* 'to be torn', *χaglō-* 'to open', Mong. *χagli-* 'to break',

Urd. *χagal-*, Kh. *χaqol-*, Bur. *χaxal-* id., Mog. *qaqalanā* 'he cuts', Kalm. *χayvl-* 'to split'.

Mo. *udayan* 'shamaness', Dag. *jadaqan* < \**idayan* 'shaman', Urd. *udaqan* 'midwife', Khar. *wadqan* id., Kh. *uddnqon* 'shamaness', Al.B *odogon* < \**iduyan* id., Kalm. *udyn* 'witch'.

Mo. *nomoqodqa-* 'to tame' ~ *nomoqan* (under the influence of the diminutive suffix *-qan*) 'tame', MMo. (Mu.) *nomoqan* ~ *nomoqan* id., Dag. *nomχan*, Urd. *nomχon*, Kh. *nomχvñ*, AgaB *nomgvñ*, Kalm. *nomyvn* ~ *nomχvn* 'peaceful, tame'.

Mo. *žiruyan* 'six', MMo. (P) *žirqo'an*, Dag. *džirgō*, Mong. *džir-gōn*, Urd. *džurgā*, Kh. *dzurgā*, Al.B *žorgōñ*, Kalm. *zurgān* id.

85. (B) Before \**i*, in intervocalic position, the consonant \**y* in many cases resulted in \**j*. This already occurred in Common Mongolian. Where it remained (particularly after \**l*, \**r*, \**m*, and \**ŋ*) it developed in the following manner:

CM, AM \**y*,

Mo.      *y*    only in the pre-classical language,  
              *g*    in the classical language,

MMo.: SH *g*,

Mu. *y* ~ *g*,

Dag.      *g*,

Mong.     *g*    and in rare cases *dž*,

Urd., Kh. *g*,

Bur.      *j*    with the preceding consonant palatalized, i.e., \**lg*  
              > *lj*, \**rg* > *fj*, \**ŋg* > *nj*,

Mog.      *y*,

Kalm.     *g*.

Mo. *ugija* < \**uyiyya-* 'to wash', MMo. (SH) *ukija-* ~ (Mu.) *uyā-* ~ *uqā-* id., Mong. *ηquā-*, Urd. *uquā-*, Kh. *uyā-*, Bur. *uqā-* (an anomalous development due to the assimilation of the vowel \**i* in the second syllable, i.e., *uqā-* < \**uyaya-* < \**uyiyya-*) id., Mog. *uyānā* 'he washes', Kalm. *uyā-* 'to wash'.

Mo. *čuugi-* 'to make noise', *čuugijan* 'noise', Urd. *tšūgi-* 'to quarrel', Kh. *tsūgij-* 'to shout', *tsūgiāñ* 'noise, shouting', Bur. *šūja-* 'to make noise', *šūjāñ* 'noise', Kalm. *tsūgij-* 'to make noise'.

Mo. *žalgi-* < \**žalyi-* 'to swallow, to devour', MMo. (SH) *žalgi-* ~ (Mu.) *žalyi-*, Dag. *džalgi-*, Mong. *tšärgi-*, Urd. *džalgi-*, Kh. *džalgi-*, Al.B *zalja-*, Kalm. *zälg̑i-* id.

Mo. *orgil-* < \**oryil-* 'to boil', Mong. *šdžieli-* < \**rgil-* < \**oryil-*, Kh. *orgil-*, Ts.B *orjol-*, Al.B *orjol-* id.

Mo. *burgira-* 'to spring' (water, well), Mong. *pudžirā-* 'to come out with force', Urd. *bulgila-* 'to spring', Kh. *burg̑i-* 'to rise' (smoke, dust), Ts.B *borojol-* 'to spring'.

Mo. *žangi* < \**žanyi* 'knot', *žangilaya* < \**žanyilaya* id., MMo. (Mu.) *žanqi* 'knot', Mong. *džiängidi-* 'to make a knot', Urd. *džangilā* 'knot', Kh. *džangjā* id., *džangid-* 'to make a knot, to get mixed up, to entangle oneself', Bur. *zaňja* 'knot', Kalm. *zängä* id.

86. The consonant \**y* at the end of a syllable or a stem usually results in *g* and before a voiceless spirant or a strong consonant it becomes *k*. In Dagur it results in *r* in final position, but when the stem concerned already has an *r*, it becomes *l* (dissimilation).

Mo. *qutuy* 'holiness, good luck', MMo. (P) *quduq* 'luck', *quduqt'an* 'the saints' ~ *qut'uqt'aji* 'holy', Dag. *χotor* 'luck' (Ma. *χuturi* is a loan word < \**qutur*), Mong. *χuduqtu* 'a khutukhtu, i.e., a reincarnation of a Buddhist saint', Urd. *qutuqtu* id., Kh. *χutv̑k* 'holiness', Ts.B *χotoqto* 'a khutukhtu', Kalm. *χut"q* 'holiness'.

Mo. *quduy* 'well, spring', MMo. (Mu.) *quduq*, Dag. *χodir*, Urd. *χuduč*, Kh. *χuddv̑k*, Ts.B *χoddok*, Kalm. *χud"q* id.

Mo. *saysayar* 'dishevelled, tousled', MMo. (SH) *saylayar*, Dag. *sarsagar* id., Mong. *sagsē-* 'to dishevel', Urd. *sagsā-*, Kh. *sagsnē-* id., *sagsngor* 'fluffy', Kalm. *saksv̑yor* 'dense-haired, fluffy'.

Mo. *ajyndaqu* 'one who is to be feared', Dag. *ajirdug* id.

87. The velar (post-mediopalatal) \**g* occurred only with front vowels. At the beginning of words it has resulted in the following consonants:

Before vowels other than \**i*:

CM, AM	* <i>g</i> ,
Mo.	<i>g</i> ,
MMo.: SH	<i>g</i> (seldom <i>k</i> ),
P	<i>g</i> (seldom <i>k'</i> ),

Before \**i*:

* <i>g</i> ,
<i>g</i> ,
<i>g</i> ,
<i>g</i> ,

Dag., Mong.	(a) <i>k</i>	when the initial consonant of the second syllable is a primary strong stop or affricate,	no examples known,	Urd., I.
	(b) <i>g</i>	in all remaining cases,	no examples known,	Bur.
Urd., Kh.	<i>g</i> ,		<i>g</i> ,	Mog., I.
Bur.	<i>g</i> ,		<i>j</i> ,	(a)
Mog.	<i>g</i> (seldom <i>k</i> ).		no examples known,	<i>bwigada</i>
Kalm.	<i>g</i> ,		<i>g</i> .	<i>Mo-</i>
		(a) Mo. <i>güjče-</i> 'to overtake', MMo. (SH) <i>güjče-</i> , Dag. <i>kuijtsi-</i> , Mong. <i>kuidžiä-</i> 'to be complete, to complete, to finish', Urd. <i>guijtsi-</i> , Kh. <i>güjtsə-</i> , Bur. <i>χuisə-</i> < * <i>küče-</i> 'to overtake', Kalm. <i>gütsə-</i> 'to meet, to run into, to come across'.		<i>nimgen</i>
		(b) Mo. <i>getül-</i> 'to cross a river or any water', MMo. (SH) <i>ketül-</i> , Urd. <i>getul-</i> , Kh. <i>getəl-</i> id.	no examples known,	<i>Mo-</i>
		(b) Mo. <i>ger</i> 'yurt, tent, Mongolian house', MMo. (SH, Mu.) <i>ger</i> , Dag. <i>ger</i> ~ <i>geri</i> , Mong., Urd., Kh. <i>ger</i> , Bur. <i>ger</i> , Mog. <i>ger</i> , Kalm. <i>ger</i> id.		<i>bergen,</i>
		Mo. <i>gedesün</i> 'stomach', MMo. (Mu.) <i>getesün</i> , Dag. <i>gedes</i> , Mong. <i>gidiesə</i> , Urd. <i>gedusu</i> , Kh. <i>geddəs</i> , Al.B <i>gudəhəŋ</i> , AgaB <i>gətəhəŋ</i> , Mog. <i>gesän</i> , Kalm. <i>gesəŋ</i> id.		<i>gen</i> , cf
		Mo. <i>geme-</i> ~ <i>keme-</i> 'to say, to speak', MMo. (SH) <i>ke'e-</i> < * <i>keme-</i> ~ (P) <i>ge'e-</i> ~ <i>k'e'e-</i> id., Mong. <i>gi-</i> , Urd., Kh. <i>ge-</i> , Bur. <i>gə-</i> id., Mog. <i>genä</i> 'he says', Kalm. <i>ge-</i> 'to say'.		<i>Mo-</i>
		Mo. <i>gilün</i> 'iridescent', Mong. <i>džilön</i> 'bright', Urd. <i>gölön</i> , Kalm. <i>gilən</i> 'white, bright'.		<i>šimwig</i>
		88. The consonant * <i>g</i> in the middle of words results in the following consonants:		Kh. <i>tš</i>
		Before vowels other than * <i>i</i> :		Mo.
Before vowels other than * <i>i</i> :				with i
CM, AM	* <i>g</i> ,		* <i>g</i> ,	develo
Mo.	<i>g</i> ,		<i>g</i> ,	Mong.
MMo.: SH	<i>g</i> ,		<i>g</i> ,	<i>ubəŋ</i>
P	<i>g</i> ,		no examples known,	<i>gō</i> 'no
Dag.	(a) <i>g</i> ,		<i>g</i> ,	Mong.
	(b) <i>k</i> ,		<i>k</i> ,	<i>xargi</i>
Mong.	<i>g</i> ,		<i>g</i> ,	M.
		Before * <i>i</i> :		Dag.
				<i>ergə-</i>
				(b)
				<i>uguo-</i>
				gives
				M
				<i>urkū</i>
				<i>ürgldz</i>
				80

Urd., Kh.	<i>g</i> ,	<i>g</i> ,
Bur.	<i>g</i> ,	<i>j</i> ,
Mog., Kalm.	<i>g</i> ,	<i>g</i> .

(a) Mo. *bügüde* 'all', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *bügüde*, Urd. *buugude*, Kh. *buugada*, Bur. *buugədə*, Kalm. *bügədə* id.

Mo. *nimgen* 'thin', MMo. (Mu.) *nimgen*, Mong. *niängän*, Urd. *nimgen*, Kh. *nimgən*, Bur. *némgen*, Kalm. *nimgn* id.

Mo. *berigen* 'wife of the elder brother', MMo. (SH) *berigen* ~ *bergen*, Dag. *berigen*, Mong. *biergän*, Urd. *bergen*, Kh. *bergən* < \**berigen*, cf. Mo. *beri* = Mog. *bežri* 'daughter-in-law', Kalm. *bergən* id.

Mo. *čimügen* 'marrow, a big bone containing marrow', Dag. *šimug* 'the leg-bone', Mong. *tšimuge* 'arm', Urd. *tšömögo* 'marrow', Kh. *tšümag*, Al.B *səməgeñ*, Kalm. *tšimgn* 'a big bone'.

Mo. *uge* 'word', MMo. (SH) *üge* ~ (P) *'üge*, Mong. *uge*, Urd. *uge*, Kh. *uga*, Bur. *uge*, Kalm. *üg<sup>u</sup>* id.

Mo. *ügej* ~ *ügegñj* 'not, not existing', MMo. (SH) *üge'üj* 'without, with no, not having' ~ (P) *'üge'ü* id., Dag. *uwəj* (an anomalous development, *w* < \**g* under the influence of the rounded vowel), Mong. *uguā* ~ *ugui* 'absent, not', Urd., Kh. *ug<sup>2</sup>i*, Kh.B *ugej*, Al.B *ubej* (anomalous development), Mog. *ugej*, Kalm. *ugā* ~ *ugō* ~ *gō* 'not'.

Mo. *emegeñ* 'old woman', MMo. (SH) *emege*, Dag. *emeg* 'wife', Mong. *mugän* 'old woman', Urd. *emegeñ*, Kh. *emgen*, Kalm. *emgn* id.

Mo. *ergi* 'steep bank of a river', MMo. (SH) *ergi*, Dag. *ergi*, Mong. *xargi* < \**hergi*, Urd. *erge*, Kh. *érğə* ~ *érəg*, Al.B *erje*, Kalm. *ergə* id.

Mo. *ergi-* < *hergi-* < \**pergi-* 'to turn', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hergi-*, Dag. *ergi-*, Mong. *xergi-*, Urd. *ergi-*, Kh. *érği-*, Bur. *erjje-*, Kalm. *ergə-* id.

(b) Mo. *ög-* 'to give', MMo. (SH, P) *ög-*, Dag. *ug-* ~ *uk-*, Mong. *uguo-*, Urd. *ög-*, Kh. *ig-*, Kh.B *ug-*, Al.B *ügv-* id., Mog. *öguñá* 'he gives', Kalm. *ög-* 'to give'.

Mo. *ürgülži* 'always, permanently', MMo. (SH) *ürgülži*, Dag. *urkuldži*, Urd. *urguldži*, Kh. *urgaldži*, Bur. *urgelže*, Kalm. *ürgldži* id.

89. The consonant \**g* closing a syllable has become *r* in Dagur.

It is a voiceless *g* (i.e., *g*) in the remaining languages and alternates with an unaspirated *k*.

Mo. *žüg* 'direction', MMo. (SH, P) *žüg*, Dag. *džūr*, Mong. *džiaq* (if this is not a loan from Turkic *jaq* ~ *žaq* 'side'), Urd. *džug*, Kh. *dzung*, Bur. *züg*, Kalm. *züg* id.

Mo. *kögži-* 'to blast, to burn strongly, to develop', MMo. (Mu.) *kögži-*, Dag. *kurdži-* 'to be in a flourishing condition', Urd. *kögdži-*, Kh. *χügdži-* 'to develop', Al.B *χügž-* 'to increase' (fire), Kalm. *kögži-* 'to blast, to prosper, to develop'.

Mo. *degde-* 'to flow up, to rise', MMo. (SH) *degde-*, Dag. *dərduu-*, 'to rise', Urd. *degde-*, Kh. *degdə-*, Bur. *dəgde-*, Kalm. *degdə-* id.

Mo. *nögči-* 'to pass, to die', MMo. (SH) *nögči-* 'to pass' (time) ~ (Mu.) *nökči-*, Dag. *nurši-*, Mong. *nogšdži-* 'to pass', Urd. *nögči-* 'to die', Kh. *nügši-* 'to die'.

90. A rare phenomenon is the development *\*g > r* before *\*l* in Written Mongolian and in spoken languages in the word:

Mo. *čečeg* 'flower' + *-lig* > *čečeglig* ~ *čečerlig* 'garden', Kh. *tsetsək* 'flower' — *tsetsəglık* ~ *tsetsərlıq* 'garden', Bur. *səsək* 'flower' — *səsəq-**lik* 'garden'.

The opposite, i.e., *\*r > g* under the influence of *l* (*\*rl > gl*) is found in:

Mo. *örlöge* < *\*ürlige-* 'in the morning, at dawn, to-morrow', Urd. *öglə* 'to-morrow, in the morning', Kh. *öglə*, AgaB *uglə* ~ *uglē* id., Kalm. *örle* 'to-morrow', cf. Mo. *ür*, Kh. *ür*, Bur. *ür* 'dawn'.

### The Liquids

91. Common Mongolian had two liquids, namely *\*l* and *\*r*. The former has at the present time two variants: a dull and back lateral of the Russian type (as in *палка* 'stick') or the English *l* in *all*, *hall* or *self*, and another one of the French type (in *le*, *elle*) or German (in *legen* or *Elle*).

The front variant occurs only with front vowels and also before *š*, *tš*, and *dž*, while the back variant (in precise transcription *l* or *l̥*)

occurs only with back vowels. In Buriat and Dagur there is also a palatalized *l* of the Russian type (я in хлеб or ль in больше).

The consonant *r* is produced with the tip of the tongue and is strongly rolled.

\**l*

92. The lateral consonant \**l* probably did not occur at the beginning of words in Common Mongolian or even in Common Altaic. It occurs in obvious loan words and in a small number of onomatopies. Thus, for instance, the Common Mongolian word \**luu* (Mo. *luu*) 'dragon' is an obvious loan from Chinese (< *lung*), cf. also CM \**huusa* (Mo. *huusa* or the artificial archaized form *layusa*) 'mule' (< Chinese *lo-tsa*). These loans are of recent date. As for the ancient loan words, the initial \**l* has become *n* in them:

Mo. *nojan* 'prince, lord', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *nojan* id. ~ (P) *nojad* 'commanders', Mong. *nojon* 'mandarin, prince', Urd. *nojon* 'prince', Kh. *nojŋən*, Bur. *nojon*, Kalm. *nojŋ* id. < \**nojan* < \**lojan* < Chinese *lao ye* 'master', cf. South Korean *loja* > *noja* 'Sir'.

Mo. *način* ~ *lačin* 'falcon for hunting', Kh. *natšŋən*, Al.B *našaŋ*, Kalm. *natšŋ* id. < \**natin* < \**latin*, cf. Turkic *lačin* 'falcon', South Korean *la-tjən* > North Korean *nažen* 'Latin' and 'a special kind of hunting falcon' < *latin* 'Latin' (i.e., a Latin bird).

While the initial \**l* has become *n* and still alternates with *l* at the present time, the primary \**n* has also developed into *l* in some special cases as we shall see later.

Thus, the primary \**l*- can be found in words now beginning with *n*. As stated above, the consonant \**l* already was *n* in Common Mongolian. Therefore, there were no words beginning with *l* in Common Mongolian.

93. The consonant \**l* in the middle of words has resulted in the following sounds:

CM, AM	* <i>l</i> ,
Mo., MMo.	<i>l</i> ,

Dag.	(a)	a nasal: <i>n</i> before a dental consonant; <i>m</i> before a labial consonant,	Mo.
	(b) <i>l</i>	before <i>i</i> or <i>š</i> , <i>dž</i> , <i>tš</i> ; <i>l</i> in the remaining positions,	Urd. <i>l</i>
Mong.	(a)	a nasal: <i>n</i> between vowels when there is an <i>r</i> in the word concerned, or at the end of a syllable (but not at the end of a word) before a dental consonant; <i>ŋ</i> before a velar consonant; <i>m</i> before a labial consonant,	Mo. <i>pare</i> , <i>belyn' r</i>
	(b) <i>l</i>	between vowels,	Urd. <i>bulen</i>
	(c) <i>r</i>	at the end of syllables or words,	Mo. <i>(c)</i> <i>altan</i> , <i>altanŋ</i> ,
Urd..	<i>l</i> ,		Mo. <i>Kh. a</i>
Kh.	<i>l</i>	with back vowels, <i>l</i> with front vowels ( <i>ll</i> and <i>ll</i> between two short vowels constituting the first two syllables),	Mo. <i>Urd. 'step'</i>
Bur.	<i>l</i>	with back vowels, <i>l</i> with front vowels,	Mo. <i>Mong.</i>
Mog., Kalm.	<i>l</i> .		'boot'

(Note: instead of *l* or *ll* only *l* and *ll* respectively will be written in all examples.)

(a) Mo. *kölösün* < \*kölərsün 'perspiration', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *kölesün*, Mong. *kuonordzə*, Urd. *kölösü*, Kh. *χүлүс*, Al.B *χүлүхөн*, Kalm. *kölsŋ* id.

Mo. *malta-* 'to dig', MMo. (SH) *malta-*, Dag. *malta-*, Mong. *manta-*, Urd. *malta-*, Kh. *malta-*, Bur. *malta-*, Kalm. *malta-* id.

Mo. *nilbusun* ~ *nilmusun* 'tear', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *nilbusun*, Dag. *nombos*, Mong. *numpudzə*, Urd. *nulmusu*, Kh. *nulmns*, Al.B *nolmohan*, Mog. *nilbusun*, Kalm. *nülmusŋ* id.

Mo. *qulki* ~ *quluyu* 'cerumen, ear-wax', Mong. *χонгуо*, Urd. *χулугу*, Kh. *χулхъ*, Al.B *χолши*, Kalm. *χулхв* id.

Mo. *ölös-* < \*öles- 'to be hungry', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *öles-*, Dag. *uunsu-* < \*uulsu- < \*öles-, Mong. *lose-*, Urd. *ölös-*, Kh. *ölls-*, Al.B *öldü-* id., Mog. *ulättšanä* 'he is hungry', Kalm. *öls-* 'to be hungry'.

(b) Mo. *ala-* 'to kill', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ala-*, Dag. *ala-*, Mong., Urd. *ala-*, Kh. *allv-*, Bur. *ala-*, Mog. *olanä* 'he kills', Kalm. *al-* 'to kill'.

Mo. *dalu* 'scapula', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *dalu*, Mong. *dālī* 'shoulder', Urd. *dalu* 'scapula', Kh. *dallv*, Al.B *dala*, Mog. *dōlu*, Kalm. *dal<sup>v</sup>* id.

Mo. *belen* 'ready', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *belen* id., Dag. *bēlke-* 'to prepare', Mong. *bieliän* 'ready', Urd. *belen*, Kh. *belləŋ*, Bur. *bēləŋ*, Kalm. *bēlŋ* 'ready'.

Mo. *büljen* 'lukewarm', Dag. *bēlūŋ* 'warm', Mong. *bieliän*, Urd. *būlēn*, Kh. *būlēŋ*, Bur. *būlēŋ*, Kalm. *bülen* id.

(c) Mo. *altan* 'gold', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *altan* ~ (P) *alt'an* id., Dag. *altan* 'golden', Mong. *χardam*, Santa *anta*, Urd. *alta*, Kh. *altv*, Bur. *altŋ*, Kalm. *altŋ* 'gold'.

Mo. *alda* 'fathom', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *alda*, Mong. *arda*, Urd. *alda*, Kh. *aldv*, Bur. *alda*, Kalm. *ald<sup>v</sup>* id.

Mo. *alqu-* 'to step', MMo. (Mu.) *alqu-* id., Mong. *arqu* 'step', Urd. *alxum* 'step', Kh. *alxpm* id., Al.B *alxa-* 'to step', Kalm. *alxŋ* 'step'.

Mo. *olža* 'booty', MMo. (SH) *olža* id. (Mu. *olža* 'prisoner of war'), Mong. *urdži* 'booty', Urd. *oldžo*, Kh. *oldzv*, Al.B *olzo*, Kalm. *olz<sup>v</sup>* 'booty'.

Mo. *yal* 'fire', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *yal* ~ (Mu.) *qal*, Dag. *gali*, Mong. *gar*, Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *gal*, Mog. *yol* id.

Mo. *köl* 'foot', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *köl*, Dag. *kuul* ~ *kuuli*, Mong. *kuor*, Urd. *köl*, Kh. *χöł*, Al.B *χöł*, Kh.B *χul*, Mog. *köl*, Kalm. *köl* id.

Mo. *delge-* 'to spread', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *delge-* id., Dag. *delger-* 'to develop' (intr.), Mong. *dierge-* 'to unwrap, to unfold', Urd. *delge-*, Kh. *dēlgə-*, Al.B *dēlgə-*, Kalm. *delgə-* id.

Mo. *žalgi-* < \**žalyi-* 'to swallow', MMo. (SH) *žalgi-* ~ (Mu.) *žalyi-*, Dag. *džalgi-*, Mong. *tšärgi-*, Urd. *džalgi-*, Kh. *džalgi-*, Bur. *zalja-*, Kalm. *zälgə-* id.

94. In Common Mongolian in a few words the alternation *r* ~ *l* occurred. In Written Mongolian and in modern languages *r* ~ *l* disappears before the ending *-sun*.

Mo. *čayalsun* ~ *čayarsun* > *čayasun* 'paper', MMo. (SH) *ča'alsun*, Dag. *tšās*, Mong. *tšiädzə*, Urd. *tšāsu*, Kh. *tsās*, Bur. *särhan* < \**čayar-sun*, Kalm. *tsāsŋ* id.

Mo. *uul* ~ *uur* 'native, original' (< \**uyul*, cf. Turk. *oyul* 'son'),

Urd. *ūl* 'original', Kh. *ūl* 'original, the given one, the one concerned', Kalm. *ūl* id.

Mo. *yujilinči* 'mendicant, beggar', MMo. (Mu.) *yujruči* id., Mong. *guērla-* 'to beg', Urd. *gujramiši* 'beggar', Kh. *gujlagtši* ~ *gujlyntši* ~ *gujrntši* 'beggar', Al.B *gūramša*, Kalm. *gūlniši* id.

95. The disappearance of the consonant \**l* before other consonants is not very frequent. It occurs mainly before \**s* but also in other positions.

Mo. *mösün* < \**mölsün* < \**mōlisün* 'ice', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *mōlsün*, Dag. *męjs*, Mong. *mordzə*, Urd. *mösü*, Kh. *mës*, Al.B *mölvhöŋ*, Kh.B *mulihen*, Kalm. *mösŋ* id.

Mo. *küjsün* ~ *küjlsün* < \**köjlsün* 'navel', Mong. *kuēdze*, Urd. *küs*, Kh. *χüjs*, Al.B *χühəŋ*, Kalm. *kisŋ* id.

Mo. *mojilsun* 'bird-cherry tree', MMo. (SH) *mojilsun*, Dag. *mojli*, Kh. *möel* ~ *möes* < \**mojilsun*, Al.B *möhoŋ*, Kalm. *möł* id.

Mo. *kimusun* 'finger nail', MMo. (SH) *kimul*, Kh. *χumvs*, Al.B *χumahan* id.

Mo. *talbi-* 'to put, to release, to free', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *talbi-*, Dag. *talví-* ~ *tawí-* 'to put', Mong. *tē-*, Urd. *tawi-*, Kh. *tawı-*, Al.B *taři-*, Mog. *talina* 'he puts', Kalm. *täw-* 'to put'.

Mo. *debigür* < \**delbigür* 'fan', MMo. (Mu.) *delbükü jama* 'fan' (verbatim 'a thing to fan oneself'), Dag. *dəlbür* 'fan', Urd., Kh. *dewür*, Bur. *dəbür*, Kalm. *dewür* id.

Mo. *ajilčin* 'guest, visitor', Kh. *āeltši*, Al.B *āšan* id., from Mo. *ajil* 'yurt, nomad dwelling', Kh. *āel*, Bur. *āl* id.

The disappearance of \**l* or the development \**l* > *j* has passed through a stage of strong palatalization: \**l* > \**l* > *j*.

Mo. *yulir* ~ *yuril* 'flour', MMo. (Mu.) *yuril*, Dag. *golir*, Mong. *gurir*, Urd. *gulir*, Kh. *gullir* ~ *quril*, BB *quril*, Mog. *yulur*, Kalm. *gujr* id.

96. The metathesis of *l* and *r* occurs frequently.

Mo. *yulir* ~ *yuril* 'flour', Kh. *gullir* ~ *guril* id.

Mo. *kürtele* 'until one reaches, till, until', Kalm. *kültə* id.

Mo. *kerülen* 'the river Kerulen', MMo. (SH) *kelüren*, Kh. *zer-*  
*len* id.

Mo. *arčiyur* ~ *arčiyul* 'kerchief, towel', Urd. *altšär*, Kh. *altšär*, Al.B *arsūl* id.

Mo. *oltoriy* 'island', Kh. *oltorjik*, Al.B *oltorok* < \**ortaliy*, cf. Turk. *orta* 'middle' + suffix *-liq*.

Mo. *uruyul* 'lips', MMo. (Mu.) *hurił*, Dag. *orūł* ~ *orōł*, Urd. *urūł*, Kh. *urūł*, Al.B *ural*, Mog. *ulur*, Kalm. *urł* id.

97. The consonant *\*l* of a suffix becomes *n* when the final consonant of the stem is a nasal, i.e., *\*m* or *\*ŋ*. The consonant *ŋ* in its turn is dissimilated by *n* < *\*l* of the suffix and becomes *g* (or *g'*). This affects the group *Nasal + l* of any origin.

Mo. *emne-* ~ *emle-* 'to cure, to treat (with medicine)' from *em* 'medicine', MMo. (Mu.) *emebe* 'he treated', Urd. *emne-* 'to treat', Kh. *ēmnə-*, Bur. *emnə-*, Kalm. *emn-* id.

Mo. *emlig* (ancient and rare) ~ *emneg* (usual) 'an untrained horse' ~ *elmeg* id., MMo. (Mu.) *emlik*, Urd. *elmek*, Kh. *ēmnək*, Bur. *emniik*, Kalm. *emnəg* id.

Mo. *samla-* ~ *samma-* 'to comb', MMo. (Mu.) *samma-*, Mong. *samla-*, Urd. *samma-*, Kh. *samnv-*, Bur. *hamna-*, Kalm. *samnv-* id.

Mo. *aŋla-* 'to hunt', Urd. *aŋna-*, Kh. *agnv-*, Al.B *agana-*, Kalm. *aŋn-* id.

Mo. *oŋniyud* < \**oŋliyud* (from *oŋ* < Chinese *wang* 'king' + suffix *-liy* + plural suff. *-ud*) the name of a Mongolian tribe in Inner Mongolia ('those belonging to the Wang'), Urd. *oŋnūt*, Kh. *oŋn'iūt* id.

Mo. *taŋlai* 'palate', MMo. (Mu.) *tanqlai*, Dag. *taŋna*, Mong. *tāŋlī*, Urd. *taŋnā*, Kh. *taŋl'ē* ~ *taŋn'ē*, Kalm. *taŋnā* id.

Mo. *maŋlai* 'front, vanguard', MMo. (SH) *maŋlai* ~ (Mu.) *manqlai*, Dag. *maŋgil* 'forehead', Mong. *māŋlī*, Urd. *maŋnā*, Kh. *magn'ē* 'forehead, vanguard, progressive' (~ *maŋl'ē* < Mo.), Al.B *mālā* 'forehead', Kalm.D *marŋā*, Kalm.T *maŋnā* 'forehead'.

98. The consonant *l* is sometimes of a secondary origin. When a word begins with the consonant *m*, the nasal *\*n* at the juncture between the initial and second syllable becomes *l*. This occurs in single words almost in all Mongolian languages.

Mo. *manayar* < \**manayar* 'to-morrow', Mo. *maryasi* < \**manayarsi* id., MMo. (SH) *manaqar* ~ (Mu.) *manaqār* ~ *manayār*, Mong.

*malāñ* < \**manāñ* (cf. Mo. *manāñ* 'fog') id., Urd. *margātu* < \**manā-yartu* 'to-morrow', Kh. *margāši* < \**manayarsi* id., Al.B *margāda*, Ekh.B *malagār* 'the day to-morrow', Kalm. *manyūr* 'to-morrow'; this word is related etymologically to Mo. *manāñ* 'fog'.

99. The development of \**l* into *n* does not have anything in common with the development \**n* > *l*. These two developments occur in different positions.

The consonant \**l* becomes *n* only when \**l* immediately follows a nasal consonant. In other words, the groups \**ml* and \**ŋl* become *mn* and *ŋn* (> *gn*) respectively.

The consonant \**n* results in *l* only in syllables immediately following a syllable with *m* at its beginning, i.e., it becomes *l* in syllables immediately following the syllables *ma*, *me*, etc. Sometimes also the consonant *n* closing a syllable with *m* results in *l* (vide § 105 c).

#### \**r*

100. The consonant \**r* did not occur at the beginning of words.

Loan words beginning with *r* prefix a prothetic vowel:

Mo. *rasījan* 'rasāyana, nectar', Dag. *aršāñ* 'mineral spring, curative mineral water', Urd. *arayšāñ* id., Kh. *aršāñ* id., Bur. *aršāñ* 'medicinal water', Kalm. *aršāñ* id. < Sanskrit *rasāyana* 'nectar'.

(A) In the middle and at the end of words the consonant \**r* results in *r* in all Mongolian languages.

Mo. *boro* < \**dora* 'grey', MMo. (SH) *boro* ~ (Mu.) *bora*, Dag. *bor* in *bortšōxor* the name of a shamanist ghost ('the grey-motley'), Mong. *borō*, Urd. *boro*, Kh. *bor*, Bur. *boro* id., Mog. *borō* 'dark-yellow', Kalm. *borō* 'grey'.

Mo. *arban* < *harban* < \**qarban* 'ten', MMo. (SH, P, Mu.) *harban*, Dag. *arpa* ~ Dag. Ivanovsky *χarpa*, Mong. *χarwan*, Urd. *arwa*, Kh. *arwə*, Bur. *arbañ*, Kalm. *arwəñ* id.

Mo. *yar* 'hand', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *yar*, Dag. *gaři*, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *gar*, Mog. *qar* id.

(B) When there is another \**r* in the same word, dissimilation takes

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place and the consonant \*r of the suffix becomes l, while sometimes metathesis (r - l > l - r) occurs.

Suff. -ra- / -re-: Mo. qarala- 'to be black' (cf. köke-re- 'to be blue'), Mong. ḫarla- (cf. nogoro- 'to be green'), Urd. ḫarala-, Kh. ḫarol-, Bur. ḫarala-, Kalm. ḫarl- id.

The postposition -rū < ururyu < \*huruyu < \*φuruyu 'down': Mo. yool ururyu 'down the river', MMo. (SH) huru'u 'down stream' ~ (Mu.) hurū 'down', Mong. furu 'down; along', Urd. rū ~ lū, Kh. rū ~ lū (cf. usv-rū 'towards the water' but mori-lū 'towards the horse'), Kh.B rū ~ lū.

Mo. irügel < \*hirüger < \*φirüger 'benediction, blessing', MMo. (SH, P) hirü'er ~ (Mu.) hirer id., Mong. śürö- 'to say a benediction', Urd. öröl 'benediction', Kh. jörəl, Ekh.B, Al.B örvür, Kalm. jörel id.

Mo. iruyar < \*hiruyar < \*φiruyar 'bottom', MMo. (SH) hiru'ar ~ (Mu.) hirär ~ (Mu.) hirör, Urd. iröl < \*irör, Kh. joröl, Al.B ojör, Kalm. joräl id.

Mo. keregür 'quarrel', MMo. (SH, Mu.) kere'ür ~ (SH) kere'ül, Mong. kerū, Urd. kerül, Kh. ḫerül, Ekh.B ḫerür, Kalm. kerül id.

Mo. arciyur 'kerchief, towel' (from arci- 'to cleanse, to sweep'), MMo. (Mu.) arci'ur id., Mong. ḫadžir 'a piece of cloth for winding around the head', Urd. altšür, Kh. altšür, Al.B aršül, Kalm. artšül ~ altšür 'kerchief, towel, rag'.

101. The dissimilation r - r > r - l (or l - r) leads to the development of final consonants of syllables or words in Dagur into l in stems in which there is already an r. It is already known that the final consonants of syllables have resulted in r in Dagur. Here, in words in which there is already an r, the final consonant of a syllable results in l. This is a consequence of the dissimilation in question.

Dag. sarmulta 'eyebrow' < Solon sarmulta ~ sarmitta, cf. Tung. Barguzin sarmikta id.

Dag. tqaral < \*tōray < \*toβaray 'dust' = Mo. toyoray < \*toβaray, cf. Mo. tobaray 'dust', Kalm. tōrm ~ tōry 'flying dust, dust moving behind a carriage or a horse'.

102. Sometimes the consonant \*r at the end of a syllable is dropped. This occurs before the consonants \*t, \*č, \*ž or \*s.

In Burian and Kalmuck \*r disappears before \*t, \*č, and \*ž. In Mongolian the consonant \*r changes its place (metathesis) or it becomes s when the initial vowel disappears. The disappearance of the consonant \*r occurs also before other consonants in all Mongolian languages. Final \*r disappears very often before the suffix -sun in Written Mongolian and in all spoken languages.

Mo. *urtu* 'long', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *urtu*, Dag. *orto*, Mong. *fudur*, Urd. *urtu*, Kh. *urtv*, BB *urtv*, Kh.B, Al.B *uta*, Mog. *urtu*, Kalm. *utu* id.

Mo. *kürčü ire-* 'to arrive', Dag. *kuitšir-*, Kh. *xurišir-*, Bur. *xuržę ir-*, Kalm. *kürtš ir-* id.

Mo. *ojiratu-* 'to approach', Dag. *wodit-*, Kh. *öertr-* id.

Mo. *yarču ire-* 'to come out', Dag. *qatšir-*, Al.B *qaš-irē* 'he came out'.

Mo. *orki-* 'to throw away, to cast', Al.B *oχit* ~ *ośit* 'throw away!' (imperative 2nd p. plur.).

Mo. *erte* 'early', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *erte*, Dag. *erte*, Mong. *sdie*, Urd. *erte*, Kh. *érta*, Al.B *ertę*, Kalm. *ertə* id.

Mo. *arbač* 'barley', MMo. (Mu.) *arbač*, Mong. *sbę* 'spelt', Urd. *arwā* 'barley', Kh. *arwvē*, Al.B *arbā*, Kalm. *arwā* id.

Mo. *umarta-* ~ *marta-* 'to forget', MMo. (SH) *umarta-* ~ (Mu.) *marta-*, Dag. *marta-*, Mong. *mušda-*, Urd. *marta-*, Kh. *martv-*, Bur. *marta-*, Kalm. *mari-* id.

Mo. *toyosun* < \**toβar-sun* 'dust, earth', cf. Mo. *tobar-ay* 'earth'.

Mo. *öber* 'self', cf. Mo. *öber-sed* < \**öber-süd* ~ *öbesüd* 'selves'.

Mo. *jesün* < \**jer-sün* 'nine', cf. Mo. *jeren* 'ninety'.

### The Nasals

103. Common Mongolian had the nasal consonants \*m, \*n, and \*ŋ. The labial nasal \*m has been discussed above together with the other labial consonants. In this chapter the nasals \*n and \*ŋ will be discussed.

*\*n*

The Common Mongolian consonant *\*n* has resulted in different sounds at the beginning and in the middle of words.

(A) At the beginning of words the consonant *\*n* remains *n*, as a general rule, in all Mongolian languages (a). In certain cases *\*n* is of secondary origin, being a further development of an ancient *\*l*. On the other hand, initial *l* is sometimes a further development of a former *\*n*. The development *\*n > l* occurs mainly as a result of dissimilation, when there is a nasal in the second syllable. In other words, *n — Nasal* results in *l — Nasal*. This occurs in Dagur, Monguor, and sometimes in other languages. The development *\*n > l* is not confined, however, to cases in which there is a nasal at the beginning of the second syllable, but it occurs also in other positions (b).

(a) CM *\*naran* 'sun' (cf. Korean *nal* 'day'), Mo., MMo. (SH, Mu.), Mog. *naran*, Dag. *nar*, Mong., Urd. *nara*, Kh. *narp*, Al.B *naran*, Kalm. *narŋ* id.

CM *\*nayur* 'lake', Mo. *nayur*, MMo. (SH) *na'ur*, Dag. *naur*, Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *nūr* id.

CM *\*namur* 'autumn', Mo., MMo. (SH, Mu.) *namur*, Dag. *namar*, Dag. Ivanovsky *namuru*, Urd. *namur*, Kh. *namvr*, Bur. *namar*, Kalm. *namŋ* id.

CM *\*nayad-* 'to play', Mo. *nayadum* 'play', MMo. (Mu.) *nādun*, Dag. *nād*, Mong. *nādin*, Urd. *nādum*, Kh. *nādm*, Al.B *nādaŋ*, Kalm. *nādŋ* ~ *nādŋ* id.

CM *\*nidün* 'eye' (cf. Korean *nun* id.), Mo., MMo. (SH, Mu.) *nidün*, Dag. *níd* ~ *nide*, Mong. *nudu*, Urd. *nuudu*, Kh. *nud* ~ *nuudda*, Al.B *nüdeŋ*, Mog. *nuduun*, Kalm. *nüdŋ* id.

(b) CM *\*nabaya* 'branch', *\*nabtī* 'leaf' (cf. Turkic *japraq* < *\*napraq* 'leaf'), Mo. *namaya* 'branch', *nabči* ~ *namči* 'leaf', MMo. (Mu.) *nabčin*, Dag. *lawā* 'petal, leaf of a flower', *lartši* 'leaf', Mong. *labšdži* 'leaf', Durbut Beise, Aru Khorchin, Gorlos *laptši* id., Jostu *leps*, Urd. *nabtši*, Kh. *nabtši*, BB *nawši*, Al.B *namšahan* id., *namā* 'branch', Mog. *nōm* 'leaf', Kalm. *naptši* ~ *namtši* 'leaf'.

CM \*nuyturuyu 'partridge', Mo. nuyturuu, Mong. logtor, Urd. nuqturuū 'Syrrhaptes paradoxus', Kh. nuqtvruū 'partridge'.

CM \*numun 'bow', Mo., MMo. (SH, Mu.) numun, Dag. nem, Mong. lumu, Urd. numu, Kh. numo, Al.B nomo, Kalm. numŋ id.

CM \*nqmin 'mole', Mo. nomin, Mong. lumōn, Urd. soxxor numun, Kh. soxxor nomŋ, Kalm. sox̥ nomŋ id.

CM \*noyta, Mo. noyto < \*noyta 'halter', MMo. (Mu.) noyta, Mong. nogdō, Durbut Beise, Gorlos, Jostu loxto, Urd. nogto, Kh. nogtv, Al.B nogto, Kalm. nokt̥ id.

Mo. nom < Sogdian \*nom (nwm) < Greek νόμος 'religious law, doctrine, dharma', Mong. luom 'religion', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. nom 'religious book, teaching'.

104. (B) In the middle of words the nasal consonant \*n is preserved as n in general (a).

After \*u of the initial syllable, when closing the latter, \*n alternates with m (b).

Immediately after a syllable containing the nasal m, i.e., immediately after ma, me, mu, etc. the consonant \*n often becomes l. (c).

In consequence of palatalization the consonant \*n results in j or disappears in Kalmuck (d).

(a) Mo. ene 'this', MMo. (SH, Mu.) ene, Dag. ene, Mong. nie, Urd. ene, Kh. ēnə, Bur. qne, Mog. enā, Kalm. en⁹ id.

Mo., MMo. (SH, Mu.) una- 'to fall down', Dag. woana-, Mong. unā-, Urd. una-, Kh. unv-, Ts.B una- id., Mog. unōnā 'he falls', Kalm. unv- 'to fall'.

Mo., MMo. (SH, Mu.) unu- 'to ride', Dag. ono-, Mong. funi-, Urd. unu-, Kh. unv-, Ts.B ono-, Al.B una- id., Mog. uninā 'he rides', Kalm. unu- 'to ride'.

Mo. oni < \*honi < \*poni 'the notch of an arrow', MMo. (Mu.) honi, Dag. oni, Urd. oni, Kh. öni, Al.B ono, Kalm. on⁹ id.

Mo., MMo. (Mu.) sana- 'to think', Dag. sana-, Mong., Urd. sana-, Kh. sanv-, Al.B hana-, Kalm. sanv- id.

Mo. sonos- < \*sonas- 'to hear', MMo. (SH) sonos- ~ (Mu.) sonas-, Dag. sonos-, Mong. sunose-, Urd. sonos-, Kh. sonos- id., Mog. sonu- sunā 'he hears', Kalm. sons⁹- 'to hear'.

(b)

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Mo

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unda

umdn̥

10:

(c)

mele<sup>k</sup>χ

&lt; \*m

M

(SH)

lan̥ &lt;

'to-m-

Ekh.l

'to-m-

M

Dag.

Al.B

M

&lt; \*n

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(c)

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goni

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)

(b) Mo. *unta-* ~ *umta-* 'to sleep', MMo. (SH) *unta-* id., *untara-* 'to extinguish' ~ (Mu.) *unta-* 'to sleep', *untara-* 'to extinguish', Dag. *wganta-* 'to sleep', Mong. *n̥terā-* 'to sleep' < \**untara-*, Urd. *unta-* 'to sleep', Kh. *untv-*, Bur. *unta-*, Kalm. *untv-* id.

Mo. *umdayan* 'drink, beverage', *umdayas-* 'to be thirsty', Mog. *undō* 'beverage', Mong. *ndase-* 'to be thirsty', Urd. *undās-* 'to be thirsty', Kh. *undv* 'beverage' ~ *umdašχvolv̥* 'thirst, thirsty', Bur. *unda* 'beverage' (cf. *unda s̥idem* 'a milk drink'), Kalm. *undŋ* ~ *umdn̥* 'drink, beverage', *undās-* 'to be thirsty'.

105. Particular developments are *n* > *l* (c) and *n* > *j* (d).

(c) Mo. *menekej* > *melekej* 'frog', MMo. (Mu.) *menekej*, Urd. *meleχχī*, Kh. *melχī*, BB *mēlχī*, Kalm. *mekle* < \**mekelej* (metathesis) < \**melekej* < \**menekej* id.

Mo. *manayar* 'to-morrow', Mo. *maryasi* < \**manayarsi* id., MMo. (SH) *manaqar* ~ (Mu.) *manaqār* ~ *manayār*, Mong. *malāŋ* < \**malāŋ* < \**manāŋ* (cf. Mo. *manāŋ* 'fog'), Urd. *margātu* < \**manayartu* 'to-morrow', Kh. *margāši* < \**manayarsi* id., Al.B *margāda* id., Ekh.B *malagār* < \**manayar* 'to-morrow', Kalm. *maŋgūr* < \**manayur* 'to-morrow'; cf. Mo. *manāŋ* 'fog', Kh. *manv̥* id.

Mo. *minaya* ~ *milaya* 'lash', MMo. (SH) *mina'a* ~ (Mu.) *minā*, Dag. *minā*, Urd. *milā* < \**minaya*, Durbut Beise *milā*, Kh. *minā*, Al.B *minā*, Kalm. *malā* id.

Mo. *möndör* < \**mönder* 'hail', MMo. (Mu.) *möndör*, Dag. *murtul* < \**muldwur* < \**mönder* id., Urd. *möndör*, Kh. *möndar*, Kh.B *muñder*, Kalm. *möndr* id.

Mo. *emiüne* 'in front, before', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *emiüne*, Dag. *emel* 'front', Dag. Ivanovsky *emene*, Urd. *önönö*, Kh. *ümäna*, Al.B *ümönö*, Kalm. *ömn̥* id.

(d) Mo. *qonin* 'sheep' (cf. Orkhon Turk. *qoñ*), MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qonin*, Dag. *χonī*, Mong., Urd. *χoni*, Kh. *χón̥*, Al.B *χonīŋ*, Mog. *qonin*, Kalm. *χō* ~ *χōn* < \**qojin* < \**qonin* id.

Mo. *söni* 'night', MMo. (SH) *süni* ~ (Mu.) *söni*, Dag. *suñi*, Mong. *soni*, Urd. *söni*, Kh. *šöna*, Kh.B *huñi*, Al.B *hvñi*, Mog. *suni*, Kalm. *sō* ~ *sōn* < \**söjin* < \**sönin* id.

106. A rare phenomenon is the appearance of a redundant *n*

at the beginning or in the middle words, a phenomenon called »nunnation» by RAMSTEDT.

(a) At the beginning of words *n* appears only in a few words.

Al.B *nastol* 'table' < Russian *стол*, has probably originated from Russian *на стол* »on the table». Thus this is not a phonetic development.

Kh.B *nudagan*, Mo. in Khor-Buriat spelling *niduyan* 'a shamaness', Mo. *udayan* ~ *uduyan*, Kh. *uddngvñ*, Al.B *ođogon* id.

Al.B *namāñ* < \**imayan* 'goat' = Mo. *imayan*, MMo. (SH) *ima'at* 'goats' ~ (Mu.) *ima'an* 'goat', Mong. *imā*, Urd., Kh. *jamā*, Kh.B *jamāñ*, Kalm. *jamāñ* 'goat'.

Mong. *ningu-* 'to do in this manner' = Urd. *in<sup>k</sup>xe-* ~ *en<sup>k</sup>xe-*, Kh. *en<sup>g</sup>e-*, Al.B *iğe-*, Kalm. *i-* ~ *iğe-* id.

Urd. *nēg* ~ *ēg* 'the solar heat, a hot place exposed to sunshine' = Mo. *egeg* id., Kh. *ē-* < \**ege-* 'to warm, to bake', Kalm. *ēlta* 'solar heat'.

Urd. *niltši* ~ *iltši* 'heat' = Mo. *il&i*, Kh. *iltši*, Kalm. *iltši* ~ *niltši* id.

Urd. *nöltšör* ~ *öltšör* ~ *iltšir* 'frost resistant' = Kh. *ültšir* id.

Mog. *nuntanā* 'he sleeps' = Mo. *unta-*, Kh. *untv-* 'to sleep'.

(b) In the middle a redundant *n* appears at the end of the initial syllable before \**t* in \**nutuy*:

Mo. (preclassical) *nuntuy* 'camping place, homeland', MMo. (SH) *nuntuy*, Mong. *nontog*, Mog. *nuntuy* id. = Mo. *nutuy*, Dag. *nötog*, Urd. *nutuk*, Kh. *nutük*, Ts.B *nötok*, Kalm. *nutug* id.

107. The final \**n* of stems and words has developed in different ways. The Mongolian languages are classified into two main groups from the point of view of the development of the final \**n*: in one group the final \**n* of nouns has disappeared, while in the other group it is preserved, e.g., Urd. *usu* 'water' = Kalm. *usñ* id. Besides, in some languages the final \**n* remains *n*, while in other languages it has become *ŋ* and converged with \**ŋ*, e.g., Bur. *uhaŋ* 'water' = Kalm. *usñ* id.

The general rule is that the final \**n* of nouns disappears before derivative suffixes, e.g., Mo. *modun* 'tree' + suff. -či — *moduči* 'carpenter'; Mo. *nojan* 'prince' + suff. -la- — *nojala-* 'to rule', etc. The

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disappearance of \*n before derivative suffixes is an old phenomenon, because in the Secret History there are such forms as *nojala-* 'to rule' (*nojan* 'prince'), *usula-* 'to water' (*usun* 'water'), etc. The same phenomenon occurs also in the most conservative spoken languages, e.g., in Mogol in which we find *qurdulana* 'he runs' (*qurdun* 'quick') etc. On the other hand, in Middle Mongolian n still existed in many words before the plural suffix -d, e.g., *qonindi* (accusative) 'the sheep' in the Secret History etc., while Written Mongolian has only *qonid-i* id.

In declension the final n is stable in some languages, while it is not in other languages. From this point of view the Mongolian languages can be classified into four groups: 1. into such in which n remains in all cases, 2. into such in which n is missing in all cases, 3. & 4. into such in which the consonant is present in some cases and missing in other cases.

1. Middle Mongolian (e.g., *Muqaddimat al-Adab*) and Mogol:

	Mu.	Mog.
Nominative	<i>usun</i> 'water'	<i>morin</i> 'horse'
Gen. and Acc.	<i>usuni</i>	<i>morini</i>
Dat.-Loc.	<i>usundu</i>	<i>morindu</i>
Ablative	<i>usunāsa</i>	<i>morināsa</i>
Instrumental	<i>usunār ~ usuniār</i>	<i>morinār</i>
Comitative	<i>usuniārlā</i>	<i>morinlei</i>

2. The second group has no n in any case form. Dagur belongs to this group:

Nominative	<i>oso</i> 'water'
Gen. and Acc.	<i>osōi</i>
Dat.-Loc.	<i>osd ~ ost</i>
Ablative	<i>osās ~ osōs</i>
Instrumental	<i>osār ~ osōr</i>
Comitative	<i>ostī</i>

3. In the languages of the third category the consonant n does not appear in the nominative, accusative, instrumental, and in the comitative II. These languages are Urdus, Urat, Kharchin, Khalkha, Tsongol-Buriat, Sartul-Buriat, and Bargu-Buriat.

*\*modun* 'tree'

	Urdus	Urat and Khalkha	Tsongol- Buriat	Bargu- Buriat
Nominative	<i>mudu</i>	<i>moddv</i>	<i>moddv</i>	<i>moddv</i>
Genitive	<i>mudun</i>	<i>moddvnī</i>	<i>moddvnī</i>	<i>moddvnī</i>
Accusative	<i>mud<sup>u</sup>ig</i>	<i>mod<sup>o</sup>ig</i>	<i>mod<sup>o</sup>iji</i>	<i>mod</i>
Dat.-Loc.	<i>mudundu</i>	<i>moddvndv</i>	<i>moddvndv</i>	<i>moddvndv</i>
Ablative	<i>mudunās</i>	<i>moddvnōs</i>	<i>moddvnōs</i>	<i>moddvnāha</i>
Instrumental	<i>mud<sup>u</sup>ār</i>	<i>modōr</i>	<i>modōr</i>	<i>modār</i>
Comitative I	<i>mudunlā</i>	—	—	—
Comitative II	<i>mudutā</i>	<i>moddvte</i>	<i>moddvte</i>	<i>moddvte</i>

4. The languages of the fourth group omit the consonant *n* only in the accusative, instrumental, and comitative II. These languages are the remaining dialects of the Buriat language (Aga, Khor, Alar, Bokhan, Barguzin, Ekhirit) and Kalmuck:

*\*modun* 'tree'

	Alar-Buriat	Kalmuck (Torgut)
Nominative	<i>modoŋ</i>	<i>modŋ</i>
Genitive	<i>modoňi</i>	<i>modnā</i>
Accusative	<i>modo</i>	<i>mod<sup>o</sup></i>
Dat.-Loc.	<i>modondo</i>	<i>modŋd<sup>o</sup></i>
Ablative	<i>modonhō</i>	<i>modnās</i>
Instrumental	<i>modōr</i>	<i>modār</i>
Comitative I	—	<i>modŋlā</i>
Comitative II	<i>modote</i>	<i>mod<sup>o</sup>tā</i>

108. In cases in which the final consonant *\*n* is preserved in all Mongolian languages it has developed into a velar *ŋ* in some of them, while it remains *n* in other languages. This occurs in nouns serving as attributes, i.e., those acting like Indo-European adjectives, in adjectival numerals, and in certain substantive nouns (A).

On the other hand, the final *n* is present in some languages and missing in others (B).

(A) The final \**n* preserved in all Mongolian languages: (B) The final \**n* alternating with Zero:

Mo., MMo.	<i>n</i> ,	<i>n</i> ,
Dagur	<i>ŋ</i> ,	Zero,
Monguor	<i>n</i> ,	Zero,
Urdus	<i>n</i> ,	Zero,
Durb. Beise, Jostu	<i>n</i> ,	Zero,
Gorlos, Aru Khorchin	<i>n</i> ,	Zero,
Kharchin	<i>n</i> ,	Zero,
Urat, Khalkha, Chakhar	<i>ŋ</i> ,	Zero,
Tsongol, Sartul	<i>ŋ</i> ,	Zero,
Remaining Buriat dial.	<i>ŋ</i> ,	<i>n</i> ,
Mogol, Kalmuck	<i>n</i> ,	<i>n</i> .

(A) Mo. *ežen* 'master', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *ežen*, Dag. *edžin*, Urd. *edžin*, Kh. *čeddžen*, Al.B *ežen*, Mog. *edžan*, Kalm. *ezn* id.

Mo. *qurdun* 'quick', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qurdun*, Mong. *qurdun*, Urd. *χurdun*, Kh. *χurdvñ*, Ts.B *χordon*, Al.B *χurdañ*, Mog. *qurdun*, Kalm. *χurdñ* id.

Mo. *on* 'year', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hon*, Dag. *ōŋ*, Dag. Ivanovsky *χon*, Mong. *fän*, Urd. *on*, Kh., Barguzin B *on*, Kalm. *on* id.

Mo. *ulayan* 'red', MMo. (SH) *hula'an* ~ (Mu.) *kulān*, Dag. *ulān*, Mong. *fulān*, Urd. *ulān*, Kh. *ulān*, Al.B *ulān*, Mog. *ulōn*, Kalm. *ulān* id.

(B) Mo. *morin* 'horse', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *morin*, Dag. *moři*, Mong. *mori*, Urd. *mori*, Ch. *mōrì*, Kh. *mōri*, Al.B *mořin*, Mog. *morin*, Kalm. D *mörñ*, Kalm. Buzawa *morn* id.

Mo. *čisun* 'blood', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *čisun'*, Dag. *tšoso*, Mong. *tsədzu*, Urd. *džusu*, Kh. *tsussn*, Al.B *šuhan*, Mog. *tšusun*, Kalm. *tsusn* id.

Mo. *qulusun* 'reed', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *qulusun*, Mong. *χuludze*, Urd. *χulusu*, Kh. *χullos*, Al.B *χulahan*, Ts.B *χoloso*, Kalm. *χulsñ* id.

Mo. *odun* 'star', MMo. (SH, Mu.) *hodun*, Dag. *oddo* ~ *od*, Mong. *fōdi*, Urd. *udu*, Kh. *oddv*, Al.B *odon*, Kalm. *odŋ* id.

109. The disappearance of the final \*n of the stem in the nominative case has resulted in a great confusion in declension. By analogy with the stems having their \*n restored in some oblique cases (genitive, dative-locative, and ablative) but not having it in the nominative case, many words which never had a final \*n behave as if they belonged to the former category, i.e., as if their stems ended in n alternating with Zero. For instance, the Khalkha words *šil* 'glass', *ūl* 'mountain', and many others have a regular (and historically justified) declension with no n at the end of their stems:

Genitive	<i>šiln̥</i> ,	<i>ūln̥</i> ,
Dative-Locative	<i>šildə</i> ,	<i>ūlvndv</i> ,
Ablative	<i>šileš</i> ,	<i>ūlās</i> .

Sometimes they are declined, however, in a manner as if their stems ended in n ~ Zero:

Genitive	<i>šiln̥i</i> ,	<i>ūln̥i</i>
Dative-Locative	<i>šilləndə</i> ,	<i>ūlvndv</i> ,
Ablative	<i>šiln̥es</i> ,	<i>ūln̥as</i> .

This is due to the influence of such stems as Kh. *moddv* ~ *moddon*: nom. *moddv*, gen. *moddoni*, dat.-loc. *moddondv*, abl. *moddonos*.

On the other hand, when the final consonant \*n has not disappeared in Khalkha, it has resulted in η; in other words, it has converged with \*η. The declension of stems ending in \*η differs considerably from that of stems ending in n, e.g., Kh. *dzowolv̥* < \*žobalan 'suffering', gen. *dzowolv̥ŋiŋ*, instr. *dzowolv̥ŋgōr*, etc. By analogy with stems ending in \*η other stems which do not end in \*η but in \*n are declined as if they were stems ending in \*η, e.g., Khalkha *χatv̥n̥* < \*qatun 'wife of a prince', gen. *χatv̥ni* (nornial) ~ *χatv̥ŋiŋ* (by analogy), Barguzin-Buriat *oŋ* < \*on 'year', gen. *onō* (regular) ~ *oŋgōe* (by analogy), etc.

### \*η

110. The velar nasal \*η occurs only at the end of syllables and words. In the middle of words it occurs mainly before the consonants \*q, \*k, \*γ, and \*g.

It remains  $\eta$  in all Mongolian languages. It has converged with \*n at the end of words in Dagur, Khalkha, Urat, and Buriat.

(A) Mo. *aŋ* 'game, wild animals', Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm. *aŋ* id.

Mo. *eŋ* 'the width of a cloth or textile', Mong. *ãŋ*, Urd., Kh. *eŋ*, Bur. *ɛŋ*, Kalm. *eŋ* id.

Mo. *aŋqan* 'beginning', MMo. (SH) *aŋqa urida* 'original, formerly', Mong. *ãŋ* 'beginning', Urd. *aŋχan*, Kh. *aŋχη*, Bur. *aŋχaŋ*, Kalm. *aŋχη* id.

Mo. *maŋyus* 'a legendary monster', MMo. (SH) *maŋyus* 'dragon' ~ (SH) *maŋyut* name of a tribe, Dag. *maŋjē* 'monster', Mong. *maŋgudzə* 'an anthropophagous evil being in tales, ogre', Urd. *maŋqus* id., Kh. *maŋqas* id., Bur. *maŋqut* 'Russian', Al.B *maŋqvadčā* 'a legendary evil being', Mog. *maŋqut* the Mangut tribe, Kalm. *maŋqd* 'Tatar'.

(B) Before n (< \*n or \*l) the consonant \*ŋ frequently develops into g or ɣ. This always occurs in Khalkha and Buriat.

Mo. *maŋlaž* 'forehead', MMo. (SH) *maŋlaž* ~ (Mu.) *manqlaž*, Dag. *maŋgil*, Mong. *māŋlī*, Urd. *maŋnā* < \**maŋlaž*, Kh. *maŋn'ē* < \**maŋnaž* < \**maŋlaž*, Kalm.T *maŋnā* < \**maŋlaž* id.

Mo. *aŋla-* ~ *aŋna-* 'to hunt', Kh. *agnv-*, Al.B *agana-* id.

(C) Before j < \*g (before \*i) the consonant \*ŋ results in n in Buriat.

Mo. *žaŋgilaya* 'knot', MMo. (Mu.) *žanqi* id., Mong. *džiäŋgidi*- 'to become a knot', Urd. *džaŋgid-* id., Kh. *dzaŋgijā* 'knot', Bur. *zaŋjalā* < \**žaŋgijilaya*, Kalm. *zäŋgä* id.

(D) In the middle of a few words \*ŋ disappears in Buriat.

Mo. *γaŋsa* 'pipe' < Chinese, Mong. *χāŋsā*, Kh. *gaŋsv*, Kh.B *gāhaŋ* id.

Mo. *maŋlaž* 'forehead', Kh. *maŋn'ē*, Kalm.T *maŋnā*, Al.B *mālā* id.

## PART TWO: MORPHOLOGY

### Introductory remarks

111. The Mongolian languages spoken at the present time have inherited their morphologic features from Common Mongolian. The latter preserved numerous elements of its morphology from Common Altaic. Thus the morphologic system of the Mongolian languages is ancient and conservative.

When we compare the grammatical forms of modern Mongolian languages with those of Written or Middle Mongolian, we find that many of them are further phonetic developments of ancient forms. Therefore, such forms are of no interest to us and their discussion should be a chapter of historic or comparative phonology. On the other hand, there are numerous forms which are not simple phonetic variants of ancient forms. Very often they are creations by analogy or they are very ancient but have survived only in a few languages.

Forms which are nothing but phonetic developments of ancient forms found in Written Mongolian will not be discussed here. They are mostly derivative forms, such as nouns derived from verbs or verbs derived from other parts of speech. They are of no interest to us.

There are, however, forms of great interest from the morphologic point of view. These are the plural forms, declension, pronouns, numerals, and the conjugation. Here we shall find much more than mere phonetic variants of the same forms.

112. The Mongolian languages morphologically resemble one another greatly. This is so, because they have preserved many more ancient features inherited from Common Mongolian than, for instance, English has preserved of its Germanic heritage. However, the Mon-

golian languages are not completely uniform from the point of view of morphology. When we take such a morphologic category as the plural, we find that Monguor has preserved only one plural form of all the Common Mongolian plural forms, namely that with the suffix *-s*, and has developed a special form of its own (in *-sgi*). Dagur has preserved only one Mongolian plural form and this is with the suffix *-r < -\*d*, and it has also another form, borrowed from Tungus (with the suffix *-sul*). Other languages have many more forms and they have developed compound suffixes such as *-sūd*, *-dūd*, etc. (e.g., Urdus, Khalkha, etc.).

We shall also see that the declension is not uniform. Thus, some languages have developed a special nominative form (e.g., Khalkha *moddv* 'tree' versus stem *moddon-*), while in other languages the nominative does not differ from the stem (e.g., Kalmuck *modv* both stem and nominative 'tree'). In some languages the genitive and the accusative have converged, while other languages distinguish between these forms.

We shall see that some Mongolian languages have a different conjugation in which there are special forms for each person (e.g., Buriat *jabanab* 'I walk', *jabanaš* 'thou walkest', *jabana* 'he walks', etc.), while in other languages there is only one form for all persons (e.g., Khalkha *javvnu* 'I walk', 'thou walkest', etc.).

These few examples are sufficient to demonstrate that the Mongolian languages are not quite uniform from the point of view of their grammar, although in this respect they differ from each other to a lesser extent than they do phonetically.

In the following chapters the plural forms, declension, numerals, pronouns, and the conjugation will be discussed.

## Plural

113. Common Altaic had several plural suffixes. Some of them were suffixes of collective nouns. Other suffixes were, perhaps, class denominators, i.e., they indicated groups of people or objects regarded as belonging to the same category.

The plural suffixes may be classified, from the formal point of view, into simple and compound suffixes. The simple suffixes appear in two forms: without any additional element and with an additional element. The latter is a connective vowel or an element filling the hiatus, etc. There are compound suffixes of two kinds: ancient compound suffixes which existed in Common Mongolian or in some Ancient Mongolian dialects, and new compound suffixes which have appeared only in a few Modern Mongolian languages.

Simple suffixes:  $-\ast n$ ,  $-\ast l$ ,  $-\ast s$ , and  $-\ast d$ .

Compound suffixes:

- (a) ancient suffixes:  $-\ast \check{c}ul$ ,  $-\ast \check{c}ud$ ,  $-\ast nar$ , and  $-\ast nad$ ;
- (b) new suffixes:  $-\ast sud$ ,  $-\ast dud$ ,  $-\ast nuyudud$ ,  $-\ast narud$ .

The suffixes  $-\ast n$ ,  $-\ast s$ , and  $-\ast d$  were inherited from Common Altaic in which they might have been three variants of one suffix, occurring in different positions. The alternation  $\ast s$  and  $\ast d$  can be still traced in Mongolian (vide § 54).

In modern languages there are compound suffixes consisting of two suffixes still occurring separately. These suffixes cannot be traced in Middle Mongolian, because they are products of recent development.

### S u f f i x $-\ast n$

114. The suffix  $-\ast n$  was taken by stems ending in  $\ast i$  and the diphthongs with  $\ast \dot{i}$ . This plural suffix still exists in a few Mongolian languages.

In pre-classical Written Mongolian the *nomen acti*s ending in *-γči* takes this suffix, e.g., sing. *jabuγči* 'going' — plur. *jabuγčin* 'those going'. The *nomen futuri* ending in *-quči* has the plural form ending in *-qun*, e.g., sing. *surquči* 'asking' — plur. *surqun* 'those asking'.

In classical Mongolian the suffix *-n* occurs as the plural ending of professional names, e.g., *üjledburičin* 'workers' from the sing. *üjledburiči*. In Written Mongolian the plural of nouns ending in *-tai* has still the ending *-tan*, e.g., *moritan* 'equestrians' from *moritai* 'one who has a horse'. In old Written Mongolian texts such forms as *qulayan* 'thieves' from *qulayači* 'thief', *noqan* 'dogs' from *noqači* 'dog', etc. occur. In Written Mongolian the form *gergen* 'wife' from *gergeči* id. is still used. The form *gergen* was originally a plural but it has become a singular semantically, in the same manner as Khalkha *exxənər* 'woman' morphologically is a plural form of *exxə* 'mother'.

In Middle Mongolian forms in *-n* derived from singular forms ending in *i* and *či* were numerous. They were the only regular plural forms of the stems concerned, e.g., SH *noqan* 'dogs' (sing. *noqači*), *duta'un* 'those insufficient ones, those lacking' (sing. *duta'uči*), *üge'ün* — a plural form from *üge'üči* 'not having'; *čerbin* — a plural of *čerbi* (a title), etc.; cf. P *elč'in* 'messengers' (sing. *elč'i*), *jabuqun* 'those going' (sing. *jabuquči*), etc.; cf. H *qulayan* 'thieves' (sing. *qulayači*), *ma'un* 'evil ones' (sing. *ma'uči*), etc. In *Muqaddimat al-Adab* such forms do not occur, probably because the plural in *-n* had already disappeared in West Middle Mongolian.

The plural suffix *\*-n* is still preserved in Urdus in tribal names, the primary stems of which end in *\*-ai*, e.g., *gaxan* from *\*yaqači* 'hog'.

In Khalkha professional names with the suffix *-gtši* have a plural in *\*-n*, e.g., *χvddalmartsči* 'the workers' (sing. *χvddalmartsči*).

In the remaining Mongolian languages, i.e., in Dagur, Monguor, Buriat, Mogol, and Kalmuck the plural suffix *\*-n* occurs only as an element of fossilized compound suffixes. The plural suffix *\*-n* occurs as a fossilized element in the following suffixes:

Bur. *-tan* in *moriton* 'equestrians' (sing. *morito* < *\*moritai*), Kalm. *erdəmtň* 'those possessing virtues, virtuous people' (sing. *erdəmte*);

Kh. *-gton* < *-\*ytun* suff. of the benedictive, e.g., *sūgtōn* 'please sit down!' (originally used in reference to many people), cf. sing. *-\*ytui* > Bur. *-gti*, e.g., *hūgti* 'please sit down!' (originally a polite singular form), etc.

It is doubtful that there has been a plural suffix *\*an* in Middle Mongolian, although in the *Secret History* the form *de'elen* 'garments' does occur. The latter is, in my opinion, a plural in *\*n* from *\*de'elej*, cf. Mo. *degelei* 'waistcoat', derived from *degel* 'robe, coat'.

#### S u f f i x *-\*l*

115. The Altaic suffix *\*l* still exists in Tungus but it is no longer productive in Turkic or Mongolian. It is possible that the primary plural suffix *\*l* still existed in Common Mongolian and even in Middle Mongolian. In the *Secret History* the interesting form *daba'al* 'mountain passes' (sing. *daba'an*) occurs which is an unmistakable plural form. Other examples are less certain, e.g., *kimul* 'finger nails' versus *kimusun* 'nail'. It is possible that *kimul* is not a plural form at all and *kimusun* has developed from *\*kimulsun* (like Mo. *čayasun* 'paper' < *\*čayalsun* etc.).

The plural suffix *\*l* occurs as a fossilized element in the compound suffix *\*čul*, cf. Khalkha *-tšul*, Bur. *-šul*: Kh. *bagotšul*, Bur. *bagašul* 'children'. The suffix *\*čul* consists of *\*ču* (cf. *qara-ču* 'ordinary man', *boro-ču* 'grey person, an uneducated person') plus *\*l*.

#### S u f f i x *-\*s*

116. The suffix *\*s* occurred in Common Mongolian. In Written Mongolian it is taken by stems ending in vowels and in ɿ-diphthongs (with the final ɿ dropped). The latter stems originally took the plural suffix *\*n*, but later on *-s* replaced the suffix *-n* by analogy to forms derived from stems ending in vowels other than *i* or *ɿ*. Cf. Mo. *ayulas* 'mountains' (*ayula*), *eres* 'men' (*ere*), *noqas* 'dogs' (*noqaɿ*), *erdenis* 'jewels' (*erdeni*), etc.

This suffix is also common in Middle Mongolian. In the *Secret*

*History* numerous forms with *-s* occur, e.g., *emestii* 'having wives', *eres* 'men', *a'ulas* 'mountains', etc.; cf. H *tamyas* 'seals', *saras* 'months', *jekes* 'great people'; P *ügels* 'deeds', *darugasda* 'to the chieftains'; Mu. *quras* 'rains', *üges* 'words', *hildüs* 'swords', etc.

In Monguor the only extant plural suffix is *-s* or *-sgı*. The former occurs only in the dative and ablative. The suffix *-sgı* probably consists of *\*-s* (suffix of the plural) and *-gi* < *\*-ki* as in Mo. *endeki* 'being here', *usundaki* 'aquatic, being in the water', etc.

In Mogol *\*-s* has resulted in *-s ~ -z*, e.g., *takā-z* 'bucks', *taxta z* 'boards', *śānā-z* 'combs', etc.

In Dagur the suffix *\*-s* does not occur.

In Urdus, Khalkha, and Kalmuck the suffix *-s* is widespread: cf. Urd. *emes* 'women' (cf. the unusual form *edžis* 'masters' from *edžin*), Kh. *ūlv̥s* 'mountains', *erəs* 'men', Kalm. *zalūs* 'young men', *tšonəs* 'wolves', *noxəs* 'dogs', etc.

In Buriat final *\*-s* always results in *d ~ t* and, therefore, the suffix *\*-s* has become *-d ~ -t*, e.g., Al.B *tasāt* 'hens', *qret* 'men'. In Buriat *\*-s* has converged with the plural suffix *\*-d* which has also become *-d ~ -t*.

The suffix *\*-s* is taken by stems ending in consonants in Urdus. In this case the suffix has a connective vowel, e.g., *dojonqūs* 'curses, maledictions', *bidanūs* 'we', *edenūs* 'these'; cf. Kh. and Kh.B *tanūs* 'you' (impolite).

#### S u f f i x   *\*d*

117. There was an alternation of the final consonants *\*d* and *\*s* in Common Mongolian, e.g., *\*nayad-* ~ *\*nayas-* 'to play', *\*ebed-* ~ *\*ebes-* 'to be ill', *\*ded* ~ *\*des* 'the second, the following one', etc. The suffix *\*-d* ~ *\*-s* differentiated at an early date. While the plural suffix *\*-s* was taken by stems ending in vowels and, exceptionally, also by stems ending in consonants (in which case a connective vowel appeared), the suffix *\*-d* was reserved only for stems ending in consonants.

In Written Mongolian *-d* is taken by a few stems ending in vowels, e.g., *busud* 'the others' from *busu* 'other'. This is probably due to

analogy. This suffix is generally taken by stems ending in *n*, *l*, and *r*. In pre-classical Written Mongolian the final *n* of the stem was still preserved and not dropped before the suffix *-d*, as became the rule in classical Mongolian, e.g., Mo. *morid* 'horses' (sing. *morin*), *yažad* 'countries' (sing. *yažar*), *tüsimed* 'officials' (sing. *tüsimel*). The final syllable (suffix) *-sun* is also dropped in Mo., e.g., *nuyud* 'ducks' (sing. *nuyusun*).

In Middle Mongolian stems ending in *n* sometimes still preserve it, e.g., SH *qonindijan* 'his own sheep' & *qonindi* 'sheep' (accusative), *qadund* 'wives', etc.; cf. H *nojand* 'officers', Mu. *χatundun* ~ *χatundin* 'of the wives'.

However, in Middle Mongolian the final *n* began to disappear before *-d*. Thus in the SH already such forms occur as *baraysad* 'unhappy ones' (sing. *baraysan*), cf. P *mud* 'they' (sing. *mun*), H *šiba'ud* 'birds' (*šiba'un*), P *nojad* 'princes' (sing. *nojan*), Mu. *jabuyad* 'pedestrians' (sing. *jabuyan*), *χatut* 'wives', *šiba'ut* 'birds', etc.

The final *-sun*, *r*, and *l* disappear before *-d* in MMo., e.g., SH *elet* 'sands' (sing. *elesün*), *šinqot* 'falcons' (sing. *šinqor*); H *temüt* 'irons' (sing. *temür*), *anžat* 'ploughs' (sing. *anžasun*), *tüšimet* 'officials' (sing. (*išimel*); Mu. *qižāt* 'frontiers' (sing. *qižär*), etc.

In Monguor the suffix *\*-d* does not occur. In Dagur all final consonants and, consequently, also *\*d* result in *r*. Therefore, the plural suffix *\*-d* taken by the stems ending in *\*n* has become *-r* in Dagur, e.g., *emgūr* 'women' (sing. *emgūŋ* = Mo. *eme kümün*).

In Mogol *\*-d* results in *-t*, e.g., *mori·t* 'horses', *temō·t* 'camels' (from *morin*, *temōn* respectively).

In Urdus, Khalkha, and Buriat *\*-d* results in *-d* ~ *-t*. In Kal-muck *\*-d* > *-d*. In Buriat *\*-d* has converged with *\*s*.

118. After final consonants other than *n*, *l*, and *r* the plural suffix is *-ud* in Written Mongolian. This is the same suffix *\*-d* with the connective vowel *-u-*.

The suffix *-ud* occurs both in Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian, cf. Mu. *bayut* 'ties' from *bay*, P *sənšiŋyūd* 'Taoist monks' from *sənšiŋ* < Chinese *sien-shang*. In MMo. the final *\*γ* / *\*g* of the stem disappears before *-ud*, e.g., SH *žarli'ut* 'orders' (sing. *žarliy*),

P *ajima'udun* 'of the aimak subdivisions' (sing. *ajimaq*), ē'éri'üdün 'of the soldiers' (sing. ē'erig), etc. In West Middle Mongolian this did not occur, e.g., *bayut* 'ties'. Evidently a stabilisation of the final γ occurred later on by analogy to all the other forms of such words.

In spoken Mongolian languages the disappearance of the final \*γ / \*g occurs only in fossilized forms, particularly in tribal names, e.g., *oŋnūt* 'Ongnigut' < \*oŋliy-ud 'people belonging to a wang (i.e., a prince)' or Buriat *χālūt* 'khans' < \*qayaliy-ud from \*qayan.

In Monguor and Dagur -\*ud does not occur. In Mogol -\*ud results in -ūt, e.g., *bitšiyūt* 'letters' (from *bitšik*). In Urdus and Khalkha -\*ud > -ūd ~ -ūt.

In Buriat -ūt is very common, e.g., Al.B *ulahūt* 'people' from *ulat* < \*ulus, Ts.B *burāsūt* 'Buriats' from *burāt*.

In Kalmuck -\*ud results in -ūd.

The suffix -\*d with the connective vowel already occurred in Common Mongolian.

119. In spoken Mongolian languages plural suffixes may combine and compound suffixes appear. The latter consist of the primary suffixes -\*s (or -\*d) and -\*ud, the compound suffixes being -sūd and -dūd, cf. Urd. *gotosūt* 'towns' (sing. *goto*), *morigūd* ~ *moridūt* 'horses' (sing. *mori*); Kh. ērəsūt 'men' (sing. ērə); Kh.B *nojodūt* 'princes' (sing. *nojon*); Al.B *burūhūt* 'calves' (sing. *burū*); Kalm. *χādūd* 'khans' (sing. *χān*), *zalūsūd* 'young people' (sing. *zalū*), etc.

120. In pre-classical Written Mongolian the suffix -ud was also taken by stems ending in a vowel. In this case a »Hiatustilger« (-γ- / -g-) appears between the final vowel of the stem and the initial vowel of the suffix -ud, e.g., čayayčiyud 'white mares' from čayayčin. In Middle Mongolian such forms were common, e.g., SH *qonyoyči'ut* 'brown female animals', *alayči'ut* 'motley female animals'.

It seems that these plural forms were used mostly (or exclusively?) in reference to female beings.

#### S u f f i x   -\*nuyud

121. In Written Mongolian stems ending in *l*, *n*, *ŋ*, and *r* take the plural suffix -nuyud. This is a compound suffix consisting of

the suffix *-yud* discussed in § 120 added to *n* (with the connective vowel *-u-*). In other words *-nuyud* < *\*n-u-yud* in which *n* originally belonged to the stem from which it was erroneously detached and joined the suffix. This *n* belonged to stems of the type *\*qayan* 'khan'. By analogy to such stems it appeared also in other words. The suffix *\*nuyud* consists of *-yud* (§ 120) added to the final *n* of a stem.

The suffix *\*nuyud* is old. It already occurred in Middle Mongolian, e.g., in SH *yalnu'ut* 'fires', P *maqaraŋnu'ud* 'the Mahārājas', *mandalnu'udi* 'the *mandala*' (accusative), *purgannu'udun* 'of the Buddhas', etc.

In Mogol *\*nuyud* > *-nūt*, e.g., *noqeŋnū-t* 'dogs', *yadžarnū-t* 'countries', etc. Dagur does not have this suffix.

The suffix *-nūd* ~ *-nūt* occurs in Urdus, Khalkha, and Buriat, i.e., in all languages spoken in Outer and Inner Mongolia and in Eastern Siberia, e.g., Urd. *xaranūt* 'black ones', Kh. *galmūt* 'fires', Alar Buriat *garnūt* 'hands'.

In Kalmuck *\*nuyud* has become *-mūd*, its *m* being due to analogy with the suffix *\*mad* as in *axvmod* 'senior, authorities'.

In Buriat *-nūt* < *\*nuyud* joins the other suffix *-ūt* < *\*ud* and both of them together become the compound suffix *-nhūt* < *\*nuhūd* < *\*nudūd*, e.g., Al.B *qzinhūt* 'women' from *qzi* 'old woman'.

#### S u f f i x *-\*čud*

122. The suffix *\*čud* consists of the primary suffix *\*či* and the plural suffix *\*yud* (vide § 120), the element *-či* being a derivation suffix, namely a suffix of professional names (e.g., *modu-či* 'carpenter' from *modun* 'wood'). The plural suffix *\*yud* is added to *\*či*.

Mo. has *-čud*, e.g., *žalayučud* 'youth, young people, the young generation' from *žalayu* 'young'; Urd. and Kh. *-tšūt*, Bur. *-šūt*, Kal. *-tšūd*.

The suffix *\*čud* alternates with *\*čul* (vide § 115).

#### S u f f i x *-\*nar*

123. The suffix *-nar* is taken by stems ending in a vowel and denoting people and anthropomorphous beings such as gods and

spirits. It occurs in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, Dagur, Urdus, Buriat, and Kalmuck.

Mo. *aqanar* 'the elder brothers', MMo. (P) *bodhisividnarun* 'of the Bodhisattvas', (H) *de'iner* 'the younger brothers', Dag. *dewner* id., Urd. *baqšinar* 'the teachers', Kh. *dūnər* 'the younger brothers', Al.B *bñner* 'the shamans', Kalm. *dñŋr* 'the younger brothers'.

The suffix *-\*nar* already existed in Common Mongolian. The elements of which it consists were already petrified in Common Mongolian and did not occur there as suffixes, but Common Altaic had a plural suffix *-\*r* > Tungus *-r*, and in Tungus there is a compound plural suffix *-nahal ~ -nasal* < *-na* and *-sal* the latter being a »living» plural suffix in Tungus.

The suffix *-\*nar* joins other plural suffixes. Thus compound suffixes arise, e.g., Urd. and Bur. *-narūt* < *-nar + -ud*, e.g., Urd. and Bur. *lamanařut* 'lamas'; cf. also Kalm. *-yrmūd* < *-nar + -mūd* (vide § 121), e.g., *mandžinymūd* 'novices' from *mandži*.

124. In Middle Mongolian and some Buriat dialects the plural suffix *-\*nad* occurs. The latter is a compound and consists of the suffix *-\*nar* (vide § 123) and the plural suffix *-\*d* (vide § 117), before which the final *r* has disappeared in the same manner as in Mo. *yažad* 'countries, places' from *yažar* 'country, place', Mo. (pre-class.) *möd* 'ways, roads' from *mör* 'way, road', *sinqod* 'falcons' from *sinqor* 'falcon', etc.

The suffix *-nad* is rare. It occurs only in the text of the *Secret History* and in the Ekhirit dialect of the Buriat language: cf. SH *berined* 'the daughters-in-law' (from *beri*), Ekh.B *axanad* 'the elder brothers'; cf. also the Ekhirit clan names *abaganad* (from *abaga* 'paternal uncle'), *segēned*, *qmęxēned*, etc.

125. There are rare suffixes borrowed from other languages. Such a suffix is Dagur *-sul* < Solon, and Middle Mongolian *-lar* (in *Mugaddimat al-Adab*) < Turkic.

The results will be summarized in the following tables.

## (A) The simple plural suffixes

Co. Altaic	<i>-*n</i>	<i>-*l</i>	<i>-*s</i>	<i>-*d</i>		
Co. Mo.	<i>-*n</i>	<i>-*l</i>	<i>-*s</i>	<i>-*d</i>	<i>-*u-d</i>	<i>-*γ-u-d</i>
Mo.	<i>-n</i>		<i>-s</i>	<i>-d</i>	<i>-ud</i>	<i>-yud</i>
MMo.	<i>-n</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>-d</i>	<i>-ud</i>	<i>-nu'ud</i>
Mong.			<i>-s</i> <i>-sgi</i>			
Dag.				<i>-r</i>		
Urd.	<i>-n</i>		<i>-s</i> <i>-ūs</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-ūt</i>	<i>-nūt</i>
Kh.	<i>-η</i>		<i>-s</i> <i>-ūs</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-ūt</i>	<i>-nūt</i>
Bur.	*		<i>-t</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>-ūt</i>	<i>-nūt</i>
Mog.			<i>-s</i> <i>-z</i>	<i>-t</i>		<i>-nūt</i>
Kalm.			<i>-s</i>	<i>-D</i>	<i>-ūD</i>	<i>-mūD</i>

## (B) The ancient compound plural suffixes

Primary Co. Altaic	<i>-*l</i>	<i>-*r</i>	<i>-*d</i>
Co. Mo.		<i>-nar</i>	
Mo.		<i>-nar</i>	<i>-čud</i>
MMo.		<i>-nar</i> <i>-nad</i>	
Dag.		<i>-nar</i>	
Urd.		<i>-nar</i>	<i>-tšūt</i>
Kh.	<i>-tšūl</i>	<i>-nar</i>	<i>-tšūt</i>
Bur.	<i>-šūl</i>	<i>-nar</i> <i>Ekh.-nad</i>	<i>-šūt</i>
Kalm.		<i>-nṛ</i>	<i>-tšūD</i>

## (C) The new compound suffixes

Primary Co. Mo.	<i>*s &amp; *ud</i>	<i>*d &amp; *ud</i>	<i>*nuyud &amp; *ud</i>	<i>*nar &amp; *ud</i>
Urdus	<i>-süt</i>	<i>-düt</i>		<i>-narüt</i>
Khalkha	<i>-süt</i>	<i>-düt</i>		<i>-norüt</i>
Alar-Buriat	<i>-hüt</i>	<i>-hüt</i>	<i>-nhüt</i>	<i>-narüt</i>
Tsongol-Buriat		<i>-süt</i>		<i>-narüt</i>
Kalmuck	<i>-süD</i>	<i>-düD</i>		<i>-nrüD ~ -nrmüD</i>

## Declension

### Nominative

126. Common Mongolian did not have a special nominative ending. In most Mongolian languages the subject form of a declinable part of speech, with the exception of certain pronouns, does not have a form making it different from the stem. The nominal stem coincides with the subject form, i.e., with what we call nominative. In this respect the Mongolian languages do not differ from Turkic or Manchu-Tungus.

Some Mongolian languages, however, have in one particular instance, i.e., the stems ending in \**n*, a nominative case differing from the stem.

In Common Mongolian, Ancient Mongolian, Written Mongolian, and Middle Mongolian stems ending in *n* preserve their final *n* in the nominative and in all remaining cases.

	Written Mongolian	Middle Mongolian
Nominative	<i>modun</i> 'tree'	<i>modun</i> id.
Genitive	<i>modunu</i>	<i>moduni</i>
Dat.-Loc.	<i>modundur</i>	<i>modundu</i>
Accusative	<i>moduni</i>	<i>moduni</i>
Ablative	<i>modunača</i>	<i>modunāsa</i>
Instrumental	<i>modunijar</i>	<i>moduničär</i>
Comitative	<i>modunluya</i>	<i>tosunlā</i> 'with fat' (the comitative of <i>modun</i> is not attested in <i>Muqaddimat al-Adab</i> ).

At an early date, probably in Ancient Mongolian, nouns ending in *n* occurred without the case ending, when serving as direct complements. Instead, they dropped their final consonant *n*, e.g., Mo. *usu*, MMo. (Mu.; P) *usu* 'water' (in the meaning of an accusative), (SH) *gunesü* 'provisions' (cf. Mo. *kunesün* 'provisions'), etc.

The final consonant *n* disappears facultatively in Written Mongolian in the instrumental and sometimes also in the accusative, with the effect that the stems concerned have two different declensions. They are either declined like stems ending in a consonant or like stems ending in a vowel:

#### Written Mongolian

Nominative	<i>modun</i> 'tree'
Genitive	<i>modunu</i>
Dat.-Loc.	<i>modundur</i>
Accusative	<i>moduni</i> or <i>moduji</i> or <i>modu</i>
Ablative	<i>modunača</i>
Instrumental	<i>modunijar</i> or <i>modubar</i>
Comitative	<i>modunkuya</i>

Nouns expressing inanimate objects occurred in speech much more frequently in the role of direct complements than in that of syntactic subjects. This resulted in the suffixless oblique case form (the so-called *Casus indefinitus*) being generalized and replacing the former subject forms ending in *n*, e.g., *modu* 'tree', *usu* 'water', *čilayu* 'rock, stone', etc.

The result was that in some Mongolian languages a new form of the syntactic subject (i.e., a new form of the nominative case) arose which in the languages concerned has converged with the suffixless form of the direct complement.

Mo.	<i>-n</i>	<i>usun</i> 'water'
MMo.	<i>-n</i>	<i>usun</i>
Mog.	<i>-n</i>	<i>usun</i>
Kalm.	<i>-n</i>	<i>usn</i>

Bur.	-η < *n uhan < *usun
Dag.	Zero os
Mong.	Zero fudzu
Urd.	Zero usu
Kh.	Zero us ~ ussv

On the other hand, nouns denoting people retain their -\*n in the nominative case in all Mongolian languages, because these nouns serve as syntactic subjects as frequently as they occur in the role of direct complements, e.g., Kh. ᠠwagaη < \*ebügen 'old man', χāη 'khan', nojjon 'prince', Urd. yatun 'lady, queen', nojon 'prince', etc.

127. Nouns serving as attributes retain their final nasal in all Mongolian languages, e.g., Kh. moddvη 'wooden', tšulūη 'made of stone', Urd. altan 'golden', etc.

By analogy to such forms attributive forms (a sort of adjectives) of words arose which never had had a final \*n, e.g., Kh. gallon 'fiery, pertaining to the fire', šilləη 'made of glass', etc. In Written Mongolian these stems are yal 'fire' and šil 'glass'. The attributive forms or adjectives, as they are called sometimes, are a result of analogy:

Kh. moddv 'wood': moddvη 'wooden' = gal 'fire': gallon 'fiery'.

### Genitive and Accusative

128. These two case forms will be discussed together, because they have converged in some Mongolian languages.

In Common Mongolian these two case forms were distinguished the same as in Written Mongolian.

The Common Altaic genitive suffix was -\*n: Korean -\*n, Tungus -ŋi < -\*n + the ending -gi < -\*ki = Mo. -ki in endeki 'being here, belonging to this place'; Ancient Turkic -η < -\*n. After a final vowel the suffix -\*n was used, but between a final consonant of the stem and the suffix -\*n a connective vowel was inserted. The latter was -\*u- / -\*ü- ~ -\*i- / -\*i- in Common Altaic.

The connective vowel and the suffix -\*n developed into -\*gn̄ and -in in Korean; -iŋ / -iŋ in Turkic; in Pre-Mongolian it became

*-\*un* and the latter lost its final *n* when the stem ended in *n*, e.g., *\*yarun* 'of the hand' from *\*yar* 'hand' and *\*modunu* <*\*modunun* 'of the tree' from *\*modun* 'tree'. In Pre-Mongolian the genitive of stems ending in consonants (including *\*n*) appeared also in another form, i.e., with the connective vowel *-\*i-* / *-\*i-*. In other words, not only the form *\*yarun* 'of the hand' existed, but also the form *\*yarin* 'of the hand' was possible. Besides *\*modunu* <*\*modunun* 'of the tree' also the form *\*moduni* <*\*modunin* 'of the tree' existed. The suffix *-\*in* / *-\*in* was generalized and *-\*n*, which had been used on stems ending in vowels, disappeared and gave way to *-\*in*, i.e., instead of *\*aqa-n* 'of the elder brother' (from *\*aqa*) the new form *\*aqa-in* >*\*aqa-j-in* 'of the elder brother' arose, cf. also *\*eke-in* >*eke-j-in* 'of the mother'.

Thus, Pre-Mongolian had the following paradigms:

- (a) *\*aqa-n* 'of the elder brother',
- (b) *\*yar-u-n* ~ *\*yar-i-n* 'of the hand',
- (c) *\*modun-u-n* ~ *\*modun-i-n* > *\*modun-u* ~ *\*modun-i* 'of the tree'.

In Common Mongolian some changes occurred. Forms derived from stems ending in *\*n* lost the final *\*n* of the genitive suffix. Consequently, in Common Mongolian such forms as *\*modunun* no longer existed. They had already developed into *\*modunu* ~ *\*moduni*. In other words, in the declension of stems ending in *n* only the connective vowel of the former suffix remained and replaced the original suffix.

Stems ending in vowels ceased to form genitives with the suffix *-\*n* as such. This was, probably, the result of the trend to differentiate such genitive forms as *\*aqa-n* 'of the elder brother' and the nominative forms ending in *\*n*, e.g., *uran* 'skillful person', *\*paran* 'person', *nojan* 'prince', *qayan* 'khan', etc. The result of this process was the replacement of the suffix *-\*n* with the secondary suffix *-\*in* / *-\*in* which was taken by stems ending in vowels. The hiatus between the final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the suffix was filled with the consonant *-j-*.

Thus, the above paradigms developed in Common Mongolian as follows:

- (a) \**aqa-j-in* 'of the elder brother',
- (b) \**yar-u-n* ~ \**yar-i-n* 'of the hand',
- (c) \**modun-u* ~ \**modun-i* 'of the tree'.

129. The forms mentioned at the end of the preceding section became the basis for the present forms of the genitive case in Middle Mongolian and in the languages spoken at the present time.

In Middle Mongolian the same suffixes *-jin*, *-un* ~ *-in*, and *-u* ~ *-i* existed. The suffix *-jin* was used after final vowels; *-un* ~ *-in* was taken by stems ending in consonants other than *n*; *-u* ~ *-i* was used after the final *n* of the stem, the latter being frequently geminated in the language as represented in the *Secret History* and in the *Hua-i i-yü*. After final *j*-diphthongs the suffix was *-n*.

In Written Mongolian of the pre-classical period the genitive suffixes were *-jin*, *-un*, *-u* ~ *-i*. In the classical language the suffix *-i* did not occur.

In Urdus the genitive is formed in the following manner:

- (a) After a final short vowel the suffix is *-in* < *\*in* (= Mo. *-jin*);
- (b) after a final consonant other than *n* the suffix is also *-in* < *\*in* (= Mo. *un*);
- (c) after a final long vowel the suffix is *-in* with *-g-* inserted to fill the hiatus, i.e., the suffix is *-gin*;
- (d) after a final *j*-diphthong the suffix is *-n* (= MMo. *-n*);
- (e) after a final stable *n* (i.e., *n* which does not disappear in any case form) the suffix is *-i* < *\*i* < *\*in* (= Mo. *-u*);
- (f) after an unstable *n* (which is dropped in the nominative and in some other cases) the ending is *-n*, i.e., the genitive does not differ from the stem ending in *n*. To this we should add that the genitive ending *n* in Urdus is not the primary Pre-Mongolian genitive suffix *\*n* but belongs to the stem. Thus Urdus *mudun* 'of the tree, of the wood' formally (morphologically) corresponds to Khalkha *mod-dn* 'wooden'.

In Khalkha the genitive is formed in the following manner:

- (a) after a final short vowel or after a consonant other than *n* the suffix is *-in* < *\*in* < *\*in* (= Mo. *-jin* and *-un*);

- (b) after a final long vowel (except *i*) the suffix is *-iŋ* with *-g-* filling the hiatus, i.e., the ending is *-giŋŋ*;
- (c) after a final *i* (of any origin) or an old *j*-diphthong the ending is *-ŋ < -\*n* (= MMo. *-n*);
- (d) after a final *n* (stable or unstable) the suffix is *-i < -\*i* (= pre-classical Mo. *-i*, Mo. *-u*).

In East Buriat the picture is more or less the same as in Urdus and Khalkha. In Bargu Buriat the genitive endings are:

- (a) *-iŋ < -in < -\*in* (= Mo. *-jin*) after final short vowels, e.g., *aχ<sup>v</sup>in* 'of the elder brother' = Mo. *aqajin* id.;
- (b) *-i* not only after a final *n* but also after any final consonant (= Mo. *-u*, pre-classical Mo. *-i* and Mo. *-un*);
- (c) *-ŋ < -\*n* after *i* or *j*-diphthongs (= MMo. *-n*).

The new official Buriat orthography based on the East Buriat dialects (Khori, Aga) renders the genitive forms in the following manner:

- (a) after a vowel the suffix is *-iŋ* (with the consonant before the suffix palatalized when the original final vowel of the stem is *i*, e.g., *χarīŋ* 'of the stranger' from *χarī* 'stranger');
- (b) *-ŋ* after *i* and diphthongs;
- (c) the suffix *\*i* (= Mo. *-u*) used after a final *n* of the stem was given the adjectival ending *-\*γaⱩ* (cf. Mo. *manuqaⱩ < \*manuyaⱩ* 'ours', *tanuqaⱩ < \*tanuyaⱩ* 'yours', etc.). In other words, the suffix concerned is a further development of *-\*iγaⱩ* and the latter has developed regularly into *-aⱩ*, cf. Bur. *uhanaⱩ* 'of the water' (= Mo. *usunu*, *\*usunuyaⱩ*). The suffix *-aⱩ* is added to stems ending in *n* and, by analogy, also to stems ending in any consonant, its correspondence being *-ã* or *-ē* in Buriat dialects. The suffix *-aⱩ* was generalized and is taken now also by stems ending in long vowels, the element *-g-* appearing, which fills the hiatus, i.e., the suffix is *-gai* (in dialects *-gvē ~ -gā*).

The genitive in Kalmuck is the same as in East Buriat:

- (a) after a final consonant of the stem (any consonant, including *n*) the suffix is *-ã < -\*ai / -\*ei*;

- (b) after consonants other than *n* the suffix may be *-in*; the latter is also taken by stems ending in a short vowel;
- (c) after a long vowel of the stem the suffix is the same as in the case (a), but here it is given the element *-g-* to fill the hiatus, i.e., the suffix is *-γā/ -ge* or *-gīn*;
- (d) after old *j*-diphthongs the suffix is *-n*.

130. The West Buriat dialects have not been mentioned above, because they display a few peculiar developments of the genitive forms.

The genitive is formed in these dialects in the following manner:

- (a) stems ending in a consonant have the genitive suffix *-i* or *-ī*. The latter alternates with *-ā < \*a̯i / -ē < \*e̯i*; stems ending in a long vowel of non-diphthongal origin take the same suffix but with *-g-* or *-j-* respectively, the ending being *-gā / -ge* or *-ji*;
- (b) stems ending in a short vowel take the suffix *-in*;
- (c) stems ending in a former diphthong (which in the dialects concerned has developed into *ā*, *ō*, *ū*) take the suffix *-η < \*n*.

The suffix *-i ~ -ī* deserves particular attention, because in West Buriat it is also the accusative suffix: Al.B *-i ~ -ī* from stems ending in consonants except *n*; *-ji* from stems ending in long vowels. Besides, in Alar Buriat also the accusative suffix *-iji* is found which is taken by stems ending in a short vowel. Thus, in Al.B *uχerī* (from *uχer* 'ox') is both genitive and accusative, the same as *χvli* 'the foot, of the foot', *bulaji* 'the well, of the well' (nominative is *bulag* 'well'), etc.

- A difference is noticeable in stems ending in *n*, because they retain their final *n* in the genitive case, but they drop it in the accusative, e.g., *galūni* 'of the goose' (nom. *galūn* 'goose') and *galūji* 'the goose' (accusative).

131. The accusative suffix in Pre-Mongolian (and in Pre-Turkic) was *\*γi / \*gi* on stems ending in vowels. On stems ending in consonants the same suffix was used, but there it had the connective vowel *\*i- / \*i-*. Thus, the Pre-Mongolian suffix was there *\*iyi / \*igi*. In Ancient Turkic (e.g., Orkhon Turkic of the VIII century) the suffix was *\*γ / \*g* (on stems ending in a vowel) and *-iγ / -ig*

(on stems ending in a consonant). In the pronominal declension Ancient Turkic had the suffix *-i* / *-i*. It is not quite clear whether the latter was an independent suffix or a phonetic development of the former.

In some of the dialects of Common Mongolian *\*gi*, according to the general rules, developed into *-ji*, while *\*igi* developed into *-iji* > *-i*. The new suffixes *-ji* and *-i* became the basis for the Written Mongolian accusative suffixes *-ji* (after final vowels) and *-i* (after final consonants). In Middle Mongolian they still remained as *-ji* and *-i*. In Modern Mongolian the following takes place:

In Urdus the suffixes are *-ig* ~ *-i* after final consonants or short vowels; after final diphthongs or long vowels the same suffixes occur with *-g-*, i.e., the suffixes are *-gig* ~ *-gi*.

In Khalkha the suffix is *-ig* after final consonants or short vowels, and *-g* after a final long vowel or a diphthong.

In Kalmuck the situation is the same as in Khalkha.

In East Buriat dialects, the suffixes are *-iji* (after a final short vowel or a consonant) and *-ji* (after historical diphthongs or long vowels).

In West Buriat dialects, in particular in Alar, the suffix is *-i* (or in very fine transcription *-ə* with the final consonant of the stem palatalized) after all consonants except *n*, thus converging with the genitive suffix. In rare cases the suffix is *-iji* ~ *-i*. The latter, too, has converged with the genitive suffix. Stems ending in a long vowel have an accusative form in *-ji*, thus converging with the genitive form in *-ji*. After final short vowels the accusative suffix is *-iji*.

132. We have seen that in the West Buriat dialects the genitive in certain paradigms has converged with the accusative.

In proceeding to the Monguor language we may state that the genitive and accusative have completely converged in all words. Their common suffix is *-ni*. The element *n* in this suffix is the result of an erroneous etymological analysis of such genitive forms as *\*quruyun-i* > *\*quruyu-ni* 'of the finger'. In other words, the element *n* has appeared by analogy with stems which originally ended in *n*.

Sometimes the suffix of both cases (genitive and accusative)

is simply *-n*. The latter is a further abbreviation of the suffix *-ni*. Here the suffix *-n* does not contain anything of the ancient suffixes concerned, because *n* originally belonged to the stem.

A complete convergence of the genitive and accusative forms has taken place in Dagur. The final *n* of the stem has disappeared in all cases, even in the dative-locative and ablative. The genitive-accusative suffix is *-i* in Dagur. After final diphthongs and long vowels the suffix is *-ji*, e.g., *sunī* 'the night' and 'of the night', *kūji* 'the person' and 'of the person', etc.

A complete convergence is also found in Mogol in which, contrary to the previous example, the final *n* is preserved in all cases. The suffix of the genitive and accusative in Mogol is *-i*, e.g., *tśinōi* 'of the wolf' and 'the wolf', *χoyi* 'of the earth' and 'the earth', etc.

Before summarizing the results of the discussion of the genitive and accusative it should be remarked that the Mongolian languages are not the only languages in the world in which the accusative and the genitive have converged. This phenomenon also occurs in Slavic. In Russian, in particular, the accusative of nouns denoting living beings is the same as the genitive. A confusion and misunderstandings arising from their convergence is impossible, because in Mongolian the accusative is governed only by verbs, while the genitive is governed only by nouns. Thus, their syntactic difference prevents them from being confused and makes them semantically different.

The convergence of the genitive and accusative is probably old. It already had occurred in Middle Mongolian and in pre-classical Written Mongolian (cf. the suff. *-i* of the gen. and acc.). This convergence was supported by the following circumstances. The genitive and accusative with the personal possessive endings of the 1st person of the singular and the 3rd person have converged in many Mongolian languages, cf. Urd. 3rd. p. *-in* of the genitive (< *\*i + ni*) and accusative (< *\*ig + ni*), e.g., *χānīn* 'of his khan' and 'his khan'. The same is found in Khalkha, cf. *-imin* (< *\*iŋ + min*) and *-in* (< *\*iŋ + ni*) of the genitive and also of the accusative (< *\*ig + min* and *\*ig + ni*). Kalmuck has the same, cf. *-im* (< *\*in + m* and

$*iq + m$ ) of both the genitive and accusative with the possessive ending of the first person, and  $-in$  ( $< *in + n$  and  $*ig + n$ ) of the genitive and accusative with the possessive ending of the third person.

The convergence of the genitive and accusative has occurred in the reflexive-possessive declension in Written Mongolian. There the genitive and the accusative have the same ending *-juyan / -jügen*.

133. To summarize the above observations the results will be shown in the following table:

Notes: Genitive	Accusative
(1) After consonants other than <i>n</i> .	(1) After final short vowels.
(2) After <i>n</i> .	(2) After long vowels.
(3) After final short vowels.	
(4) After final long vowels.	
(5) After final diphthongs.	

Table of Suffixes

Genitive		Accusative	
After vowels	After consonants	After vowels	After consonants
Pre-Mo. $*n$	$*u-n \sim *i-n$	$*gi$	$*i-gi$
Co.Mo. $*jin$	$*un \sim *in$ (1) $*u \sim *i$ (2)	$*gi \sim *ji$	$*igi > *iji > -i$
Mo. $-jin$	$-un$ (1) $-u \sim$ pre-cl. $-i$ (2)	$-ji \sim$ pre-cl. $-gi$	$-i$
MMo. $-jin$	$-un \sim -in$ (1) $-u \sim -i$ (2)	$-ji$	$-i$
Urd. $-in$ (3) $-gin$ (4) $-n$ (5)	$-in$ (1) $-i$ (2)	$-ig \sim -i$ (1) $-gig \sim -gi$ (2)	$-ig \sim -i$
Kh. $-i\eta$ (3) $-g\bar{i}\eta$ (4) $-\eta$ (5)	$-i\eta$ (1) $-i$ (2)	$-ig$ (1) $-g(i)$ (2)	$-ig$
Kalm. $-in$ (3) $-gin$ (4) $-n$ (5)	$-in \sim -\ddot{a}$ (1) $-\ddot{a}$ (2)	$-ig$ (1) $-g$ (2)	$-ig$
EastB. $-i\eta$ (3) $-g\ddot{a}$ (4) $-\eta$ (5)	$-i \sim -\ddot{a}$ (1) $-\ddot{a}$ (2)	$-iji$ (1) $-ji$ (2)	$-iji$
WestB. $-i\eta$ $-ji \sim -g\bar{a} -\eta$ $-i$ $\sim -\ddot{a}$ $-iji$ (1) $-ji$ (2) $-i (-iji \sim -i)$			
Mong.		$-ni$	
Dag.		$-i$ (after long vowels $-ji$ )	
Mog.		$-i$	

### Dative-Locative

134. Common Mongolian had several suffixes to denote the syntactic relations which are indicated by the dative-locative at the present time.

The basis of the modern dative-locative forms is a form with a derivation suffix. The dative-locative forms were originally a kind of locative adjectives, belonging to the vocabulary rather than grammar.

All dative-locative suffixes are common to all Altaic languages.

One of the suffixes is *\*da* / *\*de*. The suffix *\*da* still exists in the Mongolian languages and serves to form the dative-locative, answering the questions »to whom?», »to what place?», and »where?». It corresponds to the Manchu dative-locative suffix *-de* and the Turkic suffix *-da* which in Modern Turkic forms the locative case, but formerly had also other functions, namely those of the ablative and partitive.

In classical Written Mongolian the dative-locative suffix *-da* does not occur. It still occurs in Written Mongolian as an ending of adverbs such as *urtuda* 'long time', *nasuda* 'always' (from *nasu* 'life'), *ende* 'here', *tende* 'there', *önide* 'long ago', etc. It occurs also in the reflexive-possessive declension, cf. Mo. *-dayan* (with *-yan* ~ *-ban*, the reflexive-possessive ending) which is the common dative-locative in this declension.

In pre-classical Written Mongolian dative-locative forms in *-da* occurred frequently, e.g., *otačid-ta* 'to the physicians', *čimada* 'to thee', etc.

Dative-locative forms in *-da* occurred frequently in Middle Mongolian, e.g., in the *Secret History*, in the *Hua-i i-yü*, in the *hPags-pa* inscriptions, in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, etc., e.g., SH *nada* 'to me', *ölžigede* 'on the front seat of a carriage', etc.; P *darugasda* 'to the chieftains', *śinede* 'at the time of the new moon', etc.; Mu. *śirūda* 'into the earth', *üjlede* 'to the work', etc.

In Modern Mongolian the consonant of the dative-locative suffix is *d* only when the stem ends in a vowel, diphthong, or in the con-

sonants *n*, *ŋ*, *m* or *l*. In the remaining cases the consonant is *t*. The alternation *d* ~ *t* depending on the final sound of the stem is relatively new. In the language of the ḥP'ags-pa inscriptions the suffix *-da* always has *d*, e.g., *darugasda* 'to the chieftains', *nojadda* 'to the princes', etc., while *-ta* never occurs. In the language of the *Secret History* we find a number of forms with *t* (as a general rule, on stems ending in \**d*, \**γ*, \**g*, \**s*, and \**d*), e.g., *merkitte* 'to the Merkits' (name of a tribe). In the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* forms in *-da* are rare and, as far as it is known, no forms with *-ta* occur at all. In modern pronunciation of Written Mongolian the initial consonant of the dative-locative suffix is *d* after vowels, *n*, *ŋ*, *m*, and *l*. After the remaining consonants the initial consonant of the suffix is *t*.

In the living Mongolian languages the following is found. In Monguor and in Mogol no such suffix exists. In Dagur the suffix is *-da* / *-ta* (i.e., with *d* ~ *t*), but in the reflexive-possessive declension the suffix consonant is always *d*, i.e., the suffix is *-dāmul* ~ *-dēmul*. In Urdus this suffix does not occur in the simple declension, but it occurs in the reflexive-possessive declension in which the suffix is *-dān* / *-tān*, i.e., with *t* after all consonants except *l*, *m*, *n*, and *s*. In Khalkha the suffix is *-dv* / *-tv* (it is *-dā* / *-tā* in the reflexive-possessive declension), in Buriat *-da* / *-ta* (and *-dā* / *-tā* in the reflexive-possessive declension), in Kalmuck *-dv* / *-tv* (and *-dān* / *-tān* in the refl.-poss. decl.).

135. Common Altaic had another suffix which slightly differed from the suffix discussed above. This suffix was *-du*. The latter occurs in Written Mongolian as a derivation suffix, e.g., *amidu* 'living', *emünedü* 'southern' (cf. *emüne* 'in front'), *dotoyadu* 'inner', *yadayadu* 'outer' (cf. Kh. *qadā* 'outside'), etc. The forms in *-\*du* probably served as denominational nouns (nomina adjectiva) answering the question »being where?».

The suffix *-du* is found in Tungus. There it serves as a dative suffix. It occurs also in Written Mongolian influenced by the colloquial languages, e.g., *aqadu* 'to the elder brother'.

The suffix *-du* does not occur as a dative-locative ending in classical Written Mongolian and in East Middle Mongolian (SH, H, P),

but it occurs quite frequently in West Middle Mongolian as represented in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, e.g., *amandu* 'in the mouth', *yartu* 'on the hand', etc. It occurs there as *-du* / *-tu*, the latter form appearing after final consonants other than *n*, *ŋ*, *l*, and *m*.

The suffix *-du* occurs in Monguor as *-du*, always having the consonant *d*. There it serves as a dative suffix. The final *m* of the stem becomes *n* before the suffix, while the final *d* of the stem becomes *r*. The final *n* of the stem does not reappear in this form, cf. *moridu* 'to the horse' (*mori*, cf. Mo. *morin*), *luondu* 'to the prayer' (*luom*), *tšidardu* 'to the Chinese' (*tšidad*), etc.

The dative-locative suffix is *-du* in Mogol, but there the consonant of the suffix alternates with *t*, e.g., *morindu* 'to the horse', but *χoqtu* 'to the earth'. It is to be noted that the vowel of the suffix is *u* in the reflexive-possessive declension both in Mogol and Monguor, e.g., Mong. *moridunā* 'to his own horse', Mog. *bōbōdunan* 'to his own father'.

In Urdus the dative-locative suffix is *-du* / *-tu*, but in the reflexive-possessive declension it is *-dān* / *-tān* (probably < *\*da-yan* / *\*ta-yan*).

136. The dative-locative suffix is *-dur* in Written Mongolian. The consonant of the suffix alternates with *t*. It is *d* after final vowels, diphthongs, *n*, *ŋ*, *l*, and *m*, while it is *t* after the remaining final consonants. The situation is the same as in the case of the suffixes *-da* / *-ta* and *-du* / *-tu*, cf. *-da* : *-ta* = *-du* : *-tu* = *-dur* : *-tur*.

The suffix *-dur* occurs in Middle Mongolian. In the *Secret History* it is *-dur* after final vowels, diphthongs, *n*, and *l*, otherwise the suffix is *-tur*. On the other hand, the suffix is always *-dur* in the ḥP'ags-pa script, e.g., *žarliqdur* 'in the edict', *gejiddür* 'in the dwellings', etc. It occurs in the language as represented in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* in two alternating forms with *-dur* / *-tur*, e.g., *hondur* 'for a year', *eredür* 'to the man', but *čaqtur* 'at the time', and *erestür* 'to the men'.

The suffix *-dur* does not occur as a dative-locative suffix in Colloquial Mongolian. It is a typical Written Mongolian suffix. The element *-du-* in *-dur* is identical with the dative-locative suffix *-du*

(§ 135) to which the element *-r* has been added. The latter is an ancient directive suffix and is found in the proative suffix *-γur* (vide § 147). Thus, *-dur* is a compound suffix like Tungus *-dulā* (*-du* + *-lā*) and similar suffixes.

The other form of this suffix, i.e., *-tur* which has always *t*, occurs in such Written Mongolian adverbs as Mo. *sajitur* 'well' (from *sajin* 'good') etc.

137. Written Mongolian has another dative-locative form which ends in *-a*, e.g., *yažara* 'in the country', *edüre* 'on the day', *tana* 'to you', etc. The suffix *-a* occurs only on stems ending in consonants and diphthongs with *i*, e.g., pre-classical Mo. *taulaja* 'to the hare'. Its peculiar trait is that it does not occur in the reflexive-possessive declension. This suffix was used largely in pre-classical Written Mongolian but is less common in classical Written Mongolian or in modern Written Mongolian.

The suffix *-a* occurred in Middle Mongolian. As for the mutual relations of MMo. *-da* and *-a*, it seems that *-a* was used only after consonants, while after vowels *-da* served as dative-locative suffix.

The suffix *\*a* existed in Common Altaic. Its Tungus correspondence is the partitive suffix *-a*, and in Turkic the dative was *\*a* in the pronominal declension.

The suffix *-a* serves to form the dative in Written Mongolian. It occurs also as an element in various petrified suffixes, e.g., in the suffix of the Converbum finale *-ra* in which the element *r* is the ending of a verbal noun (e.g., *amur* 'rest' from *amu-* 'to rest'), cf. Mo. *jabura* 'in order to go', *üzere* 'in order to see', *abura* 'in order to take', etc.

It occurs also as an element of the Buriat suffix *-χajā*, semantically corresponding to Mo. *-ra*, e.g., *jabazajā* 'in order to go', which is a dative in *\*a* of the *Nomen futuri* in *\*qui*. Khalkha has *-χā* = Bur. *-χajā*, e.g., Kh. *jawŋχā* 'in order to go'.

The suffix *\*a* occurs also in numerous adverbs, e.g., Mo. *ilan-* *γui-a* 'particularly' (originally 'in particular'), *türgene* 'quickly', etc.

138. Monguor has a locative form ending in *-re*, e.g. *širiēre* 'on the table' from *širiē* = Mo. *sirege* 'table'. It has always the vowel *e*.

This locative is a typical Mongolian form. The suffix is a further development of \**degere* 'on, above'. Thus, it has developed from a postposition, like Buriat inessive, e.g., Bur. *modonsō* < \**modun* \**dəčuya* 'in the woods'.

139. To summarize the results of the above discussion the dative-locative suffixes will be shown in the following table.

Table of the Dative-Locative Suffixes.

	Suffix <i>*da</i>	Suffix <i>*du</i>
Mo.	- <i>da</i> / - <i>ta</i> pre-cl. dat-loc. cl. adverbs cl. - <i>da-yān</i>	- <i>du</i> / - <i>tu</i> cl. as adjekt. - <i>dur</i> / - <i>tur</i> cl. < - <i>*du-r</i>
MMo. P	- <i>da</i>	- <i>dur</i>
SH	- <i>da</i> / - <i>ta</i>	- <i>dur</i> / - <i>tur</i>
Mu.	- <i>da</i> / - <i>ta</i>	- <i>dur</i> / - <i>tur</i>
Dag.	- <i>da</i> / - <i>ta</i>	.
Mong.	-	- <i>du</i> refl.-poss. - <i>dunā</i>
Urd.	-	- <i>du</i> / - <i>tu</i>
Kh.	- <i>dv</i> / - <i>tv</i>	
Bur.	- <i>da</i> / - <i>ta</i>	
Mog.	-	- <i>du</i> / - <i>tu</i> refl.-poss. - <i>dunan</i> / - <i>tunan</i>
Kalm.	- <i>dv</i> / - <i>tv</i>	
Oir.	-	- <i>du</i> / - <i>tu</i>

Suff. *\*a*:

Mo., MMo. -*a*,

Kh., Bur. *\*a* in -*χā*, -*χvja*.

It is improbable that *\*da*, *\*du*, *\*dur*, and *\*a* had the same functions. On the basis of other Altaic languages (Turkic, Tungus) it can be assumed that *\*da* was an old locative suffix, while *\*du* was a dative suffix. The suffix *\*dur* existed only in Mongolian. It has developed from *\*du* and a directive suffix *\*r*. The suffix *\*a* was probably an Altaic illative suffix. Later on, the difference between *\*da* and *\*du*, *\*dur* and *\*a* became less clear and already in Middle Mongolian *-da*, *-a*, and *-dur* were interchangeable.

### Ablative

140. The most ancient ablative suffix was  $-\ast\check{c}a$ . Its Manchu equivalent is  $-\check{c}i$ . The suffix  $-\ast\check{c}a$  was still used in pre-classical Written Mongolian, e.g., *morinča* 'from the horse'. In classical Written Mongolian it is found in the pronouns *egünče* 'from this' and *tegünče* 'from that'.

The primary suffix  $-\ast\check{c}a$  is not mentioned in the grammars of Written Mongolian.

The only living Mongolian language which still preserves the suffix  $-\ast\check{c}a$  is Monguor. There the suffix is *-dza* <  $-\ast\check{c}a$ , e.g., *moridza* 'from the horse', *ndādza* 'from me', etc.

141. The ablative suffix is *-ača* in classical Written Mongolian. It is the only regular ablative suffix there, and the forms *egünče* 'from this' and *tegünče* 'from that' are exceptions.

The suffix *-ača* <  $-\ast ača$  occurs also in Middle Mongolian, cf. SH *-ača* / *-eče*, P *-ač'a* / *-eč'e*, but it does not occur in West Middle Mongolian, e.g., in the language represented in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*. There the suffix is *-āsa* / *-ēse*, i.e., the consonant is not *č* but *s*. This is an exceptional development of the ancient affricate  $-\ast\check{c}$ . The same development  $-\ast\check{c} > s$  is found in this suffix in all the colloquial Mongolian languages except Monguor. The ablative suffixes are in the colloquial Mongolian languages as follows:

Dag.	<i>-ās</i> / <i>-ēs</i> ,
Urd.	<i>-ās</i> ( <i>-ēs</i> , <i>-ōs</i> , <i>-ō̄s</i> ),
Kh.	<i>-ās</i> ( <i>-ēs</i> , <i>-ōs</i> , <i>-ō̄s</i> ),
BB	<i>-āhv</i> / <i>-ēhv</i> < $-\ast\bar{a}sā$ / $-\ast\bar{e}sē$ ,
Ts.B	<i>-ās</i> ( <i>-ēs</i> , <i>-ōs</i> , <i>-ō̄s</i> ),
Aga, Kh.B, Al., Ekh.	<i>-hā</i> ( <i>-hē</i> , <i>-hō</i> , <i>-hō̄</i> ),
Mog.	<i>-āsa</i> / <i>-āsa</i> ,
Kalm.	<i>-ās</i> / <i>-ēs</i> .

The suffix  $-\ast ača$  /  $-\ast eče$  is a compound suffix. It consists of the primary ablative suffix  $-\ast\check{c}a$  added to the dative-locative suffix  $-\ast a$  /  $-\ast e$ . Compound case suffixes occur in all Altaic languages. The present Turkic ablative suffixes *-dan* and *-dīn* consist of the locative

suffix  $-\ast da$  and an element  $-\ast n$ . In Tungus the ablative is formed with the suffix *-duk*. The latter consists of the dative suffix *-du* and an element *-k* which is found in the case form ending in *-lāk*, the element *-lā* being an old locative suffix.

142. Another compound ablative suffix is  $-\ast dača / -\ast deče$ . The latter consists of the locative suffix  $-\ast da$  and the ablative suffix  $-\ast ča$ . This compound suffix is old.

It does not occur in classical Written Mongolian, but it occurs in pre-classical Written Mongolian, e.g., *morindača* 'from the horse'. Numerous forms ending in *-dača* occur in East Middle Mongolian, e.g., in the *Secret History* and in the ḥP'ags-pa inscriptions. They do not occur, however, in West Middle Mongolian.

In Modern Mongolian this ablative form is common, but only few words take it. In Monguor there is no locative in *-da*, and, therefore, no ablative in *-dača* occurs either. There is, however, a locative in *-re* and this suffix is also found in the Monguor ablative in *-redža*, e.g., *moriredža* 'from the horse'.

In Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck the suffix  $-\ast dača$  occurs in a few words, e.g., Kh. *gertēs*, Bur. *gertēhē*, Kalm. *gertēs* 'from the house'. These forms have actually become adverbs.

### Instrumental

143. The Common Mongolian instrumental suffix is  $-\ast \beta ar \sim -\ast \gamma ar$ . Its further development is Mo. *-bar* (after final vowels of the stem) and *-ijar < -\ast iyar \sim -\ast i\beta ar* (after final consonants), e.g., *durabar* 'by desire', *yarijar* 'with the hand'. The suffix  $-\ast \gamma ar$  still occurs as an ending of adverbs, e.g., Mo. *yayčayar* 'lonely, alone' from *yayča* 'single', in the *converbum abtemporale* suffix *-ysayar < -\ast ysan* (nomen perfecti) + *-yar* (instr.), which in pre-classical Written Mongolian was often written *-ysabar*. The suffix  $-\ast \gamma ar / -\ast ger$  is also found in *bügüdeger* 'all together' (from *bügüde* 'all') and by analogy also in *edeger* 'these' and *tdeger* 'those' (from *ede* and *tede* respectively), etc.

In Middle Mongolian the instrumental suffix is *-ar < -\ast \gamma ar* in

the language of the hPags-pa script and it alternates with *-ijar*. In the *Secret History* *'ar* < *\*yar* < *\*βar* > *-bar* ~ *-ba'ar* and *-ijar* are found. The instrumental form *ima'ari* < *\*imayari* from *\*i* 'he' has an *i* at the end. The latter is the fossilized stem *\*i* of the pronoun which serves as a possessive ending (cf. Turkic *benim* 'my' from *ben* 'I' and *-m* possessive ending).

In the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* the instrumental suffixes are *-ār* / *-ēr* ~ *-i'ār* / *-i'ēr*.

In Mogol it is *-ār* / *-ār* with the initial vowel of this suffix dropped when the stem ends in a long vowel, e.g., *tšinōr* from *tšinō* 'wolf'.

In Monguor the suffix is *-ra* < *\*ār*; in Urdus, Khalkha, and Buriat the suffix is *-ār* / *-ēr* (*-ōr* / *-ōr* in Urdus and *-ār* in Kh. and Bur.).

Kalmuck has the suffix *-ār* / *-ēr*.

144. Stems ending in *n* alternating with *Zero* drop their *n* in the instrumental case. In Khalkha and Buriat there are two instrumental forms. One keeps its *n*, the other form drops it, e.g., *moriñōr* and *moriōr* from *mori* 'horse'. The former serves as a comitative and means 'together with the horse'. The latter form serves as an instrumental and means 'by means of the horse'.

The instrumental suffix joins the comitative suffix in Colloquial Mongolian. This compound form occurred also in pre-classical Written Mongolian, e.g., *qatunluyabar* 'together with the queen' from *qatun* 'queen' (comitative suffix *-luya* + instr. suff. *-bar*). In West Buriat dialects there is a form in *-lār* < *\*luyabar* which is found in the pronominal declension, e.g., *namalār* 'with me'. It occurred, however, in old Buriat in all declensions and such forms as *tengřilēr* 'together with the Heaven' occur in shamanist songs and in Buriat epics.

In Khalkha the suffix *-lār* occurs only in the successive converb suffix *-xplār* (< *\*qu nomen futuri + -lār*).

In Kalmuck there is a suffix *-lār* only in the possessive declensions, e.g., *emŋylērň* 'together with his (ejus) old woman' and *emŋylērān* 'together with his own (sua) old woman'. The latter form occurs also in Urdus, e.g., *bagšilāran* 'together with his own (suus) teacher'.

In the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab* forms in *-lār* occur, but there we find also another form which occurs nowhere else. This is the reverse combination of the instrumental and comitative suffixes, i.e., *-ārlā*, e.g., *mallār* 'with the property', *emelērēn* 'together with his own (sw) wife' (with the suffix *-lār* < *\*luya* + *\*bar*) and *nādu-nārlā* 'with the play', *usuni'ārlā* 'with water', *hoduni'ārlā* 'with the star', etc. (with the suff. *-ar* + *-lā* < *\*luya*).

### Comitative

145. The comitative answering the question »together with whom?« was formed in Common Mongolian with the suffix *\*luya* which is, probably, a compound suffix. It corresponds to Turkic *-liy* of the adjectives expressing the idea of »having what?«, e.g., *aliiy* 'having a horse'.

According to the general phonetic rules *\*luya* should have resulted in *-lō* in Modern Mongolian, but when becoming part of the declension system, the comitative form appeared, analogically to all the other case forms, with the suffix *-lā* / *-lē* and, in some languages having the labial attraction, also with *-lō* / *-lā*.

Not all Mongolian languages have the primary suffix *\*luya*. From the point of view of the formation of the comitative case the Mongolian languages can be classified into two groups. One group has the ancient suffix *\*luya* ~ *\*luyaŋ* (A). The other group has a comitative form which is a further development of the compound comitative-instrumental form (B).

The former group (A) can be subdivided into *\*luya-* languages and into *\*luyaŋ-*languages.

#### (A) The primary comitative form.

(a) <i>*luya</i>	(b) <i>*luyaŋ</i>
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Mo.	<i>-luya</i> / <i>-läge</i> ,	—
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MMO.:		
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SH	<i>-lu'a</i> / <i>-lü'e</i> ,	—
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Mu.	<i>-lā</i> / <i>-lē</i> ,	—
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Mong.	-la,	—
Mog.	—	-lej < -*luya <i>j</i> ,
Urd.	-lā / -lē (-lō / -lō̄),	—
Kalm.	—	-lā / -lε.

## (B) The compound comitative form:

Mo. (pre-class.) -luyabar / -lägeber,

MMo.:

Mu.	-lär / -lēr and -iärslā,
Urd.	-lāran / -lēren in the refl.-poss. decl.,
Bur.	-lär / -lēr (-lōr / -lō̄r),
Kalm.	-lärñ / -lērñ with the poss. suff. of the 3rd person, -lärñān / -lērñān with the refl.-poss. ending.

In some Mongolian languages the comitative in -luya or its developments do not exist. Such languages are Khalkha (where it is found only in the suffix of the converbum successivum) and Dagur.

146. The Modern Mongolian languages prefer another comitative form. This is the form in -\*taij / -\*tej.

This suffix is a derivation suffix, e.g., *moritaij* 'one who has a horse' from *morin* 'horse'. The plural of such nouns ends in -tan, e.g., *moritan* 'those having horses, horsemen'. This suffix is widespread in all Mongolian languages and tends to replace the old comitative suffix -\*luya.

In classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian forms in -taij are not comitative forms. It may be assumed that the forms in -taij developed into comitative forms much later, probably in Modern Mongolian. The forms in -taij serve as comitative forms in most of the Modern Mongolian languages.

Dag. -t̥i as the only comitative form,

Mong. -d̥i besides -la,

Urd. -tā / -tī, -tō besides -lā.

Kh. -t̥ē / -tē as the only comitative form,

Bur. -t̥ē ~ -tā, etc. has almost replaced the old suff. -lā,

Kalm. -tā / -tε besides -lā.

### Prolative

147. A few Mongolian languages possess a special prolative case answering the question »in what direction?».

In Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and in most spoken languages there is no such case form. Only a few prolative adverbs are found which are the only surviving forms, e.g., Kh. *dōγür* 'along the bottom', Bur. *dēgūr* 'over, along the top', etc.

The only language in which the prolative is still a living form is Kalmuck. There this form serves as the directive case.

The suffix is *-\*γur* / *-\*gür*. It is a compound suffix and, probably, consists of the directive element *\*r* (which is also found in the dative suffix *-dur*, vide § 139) added to the suffix *-\*yun* / *-\*gün* which is found in Middle Mongolian in adverbs, e.g., *dege'ün* 'on, above', *dotor'a'un* 'within', etc.

(a) As prolative:

Mo. *-γur* / *-gür* (cf. *degegür* 'along the top'),  
 Dag. *-ūr* / *-ūr* with *-γ-* / *-g-*, e.g., *dōγür* 'along the bottom',  
 Urd., Kh., Bur. *-ūr* / *-ūr*, cf. Bur. *dēgūr* 'over, along the top'.

(b) As directive:

Kalm. *-ūr* / *-ūr*, cf. *galūr* 'towards the fire', *usynūr* 'to the water',  
*emgynūr* 'in the direction of the old woman'.

### Directive

148. This is also a rare case form. Its suffix *-\*ru* still occurs in Written Mongolian in a few adverbs, e.g., *inaru* 'this side, prior to', *činaru* 'that direction, after', etc. Suff. *-rū* < *\*uruyu* (s. § 100).

This form is unknown in Dagur, Monguor, Kalmuck, and Mogol.

Mo. *-ru*,

Urd. *-rū* ~ *-lū*, e.g., *otogrū* 'in the direction of the Otog banner',  
 Kh. *-rū* ~ *-lū* (the latter used after *r*), e.g., *moddvru* 'towards the woods',

Bur. *-rū* ~ *-lū* (the latter after *r*), e.g., *uharū* 'towards the water',  
*morilū* 'towards the horse'.

### Terminative

149. The terminative case shows the height of an object, e.g., »knee-dep». It is a rare case and few words occur in it. Therefore, this almost fossilized case form may be regarded as an adverb.

Common Mongolian had the suffix *-\*ča* < Common Altaic *-\*ča*. Its developments are as follows:

Mo.	<i>-ča</i> , <i>-čaya</i> , e.g., <i>ebüdügčege</i> 'on a level with the knees',
MMo.: Mu.	<i>-ča</i> , e.g., <i>čisuča</i> 'till blood' (i.e., 'until blood came'),
Urd.	<i>-tšē</i> < <i>-*čaž</i> , e.g., <i>öwödöktšē</i> 'on a level with the knees',
Kh.	<i>-tsā</i> / <i>-tsē</i> , <i>-tsā</i> , e.g., <i>üwdaktsā</i> id.,
Bur.	<i>-sā</i> / <i>-sē</i> , e.g., <i>erjise</i> 'on a level with the bank',
Kalm.	<i>-tsē</i> , e.g., <i>öwdaktsē</i> 'on a level with the knees'.

This form does not occur in Monguor, Dagur, and Mogol.

### Secondary Case Forms

150. Nouns take case suffixes and may be joined by postpositions. The latter may be assimilated by the nouns concerned and they are affected by the rules of vowel harmony. In this manner new forms arise which sometimes can be regarded as new case forms.

The word *\*degere* = Mo. *degere* 'top, on, above' has become *dere* in Urdus, *dērə* in Khalkha. It has almost developed into a new case form in Urdus. There it joins the genitive form and forms, together with the latter, the compound form *-iñdār*, e.g., *nastuñdār* 'at the old man' < *\*nasutujin degere*; *manādār* 'at us' < *manaj* < *\*manuyaž* + *dār* < *\*degere* 'on', etc. The postposition *\*degere* has become an ending in Buriat, too, cf. the verbal form *jabaxadār* 'as soon as he went' < *\*jabuqu degere*.

In Monguor *\*degere* has become a locative suffix, e.g., *morire* 'on the horse'.

Specific Buriat case forms are the inessive and the elative. The elative is an ablative form of the inessive. The inessive has the ending

*-sō* which does not comply with the rules of vocalic harmony. The ending *-sō* is an abbreviation of *dosō* ~ *zosō* < \**dočaya* ~ \**dotaya* 'within', cf. Mo. *dotoyadu* 'inner', Kh. *dotōdv* id., cf. the analogous form Mo. *yadayadu* 'outer', Kh. *gadā* 'outside', Bur. *gazā* id. The forms in *-sō* are very numerous, e.g., Bur. *uhansō* 'in the water, into the water', *gersō* 'in the house, into the house', *amansō* 'in the mouth, into the mouth', etc. The ablative of such forms ends in *-sōhō*, e.g., *uhansōhō* 'from within of the water', *gersōhō* 'out of the house'.

Another case formed from the inessive is the prolative in *-sōyūr*, e.g., *uhansōyūr* 'under the water' (not standing under the water but moving under the water along the bottom).

These are secondary case forms. Some of them can be formed (with the suffixes discussed above) from primary case forms. Thus the so-called double declension arises.

### The Double Declension

151. It has been stated above that the ancient ablative suffix *-ča* has joined the dative-locative suffix *-a* and this combination has resulted in the Written Mongolian ablative suffix *-ača*. Likewise in Modern Mongolian some case forms may obtain additional suffixes of other cases. The result is the so-called double declension, i.e., forms containing two case suffixes at the same time.

The double declension is widespread in some modern Mongolian languages. Two case forms may obtain suffixes of other cases in most languages spoken at the present time. These are the genitive and the comitative.

In Kalmuck all case forms may be derived from the genitive form. In Urdus only the locative and the directive suffix is added to the genitive forms. In Buriat the locative and the ablative can be formed on the basis of the genitive.

The comitative form serves as the stem of all oblique cases in Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck.

## 1. Kalmuck compound case forms based on the genitive

Genitive Suffix	Compound forms					
	Gen.-gen.	Gen.-acc.	Gen.-loc.	Gen.-instr.	Gen.-abl.	Gen.-com.
-in	-inā	-inig	-indv	-inār	-inās	-intā, -inlā
-ā	-āgīn	-āg	-ādv	-āyār	-āyās	-ātā, -ālā

## 2. Locative forms based on the genitive

Genitive suffixes	Compound locative-genitive forms		
	Urdus	Khalkba	Buriat
-n (-η)	-ndu	-ndv	-nda
-in (-in)	-indu	-indv	-inda
-ā	-ādu	-ādv	-āda

## 3. Directive and ablative forms based on the genitive

Genitive suffixes	Genitive-directive	Genitive-ablative
	Urdus	Buriat
-n (-η)	-nlū	-nhā
-in (-in)	-inlū	-inhā
-ā	-ālū	-āhā

## 4. Compound case forms based on the comitative

Langua- ges	Com.-gen.	Com.-dat. -loc.	Com.-acc.	Com.-abl.	Com.- instr.	Com.-ines.	Com.-com.
Khalkha	-t <sup>p</sup> ēn	-t <sup>p</sup> ēdv	-t <sup>p</sup> ēg	-t <sup>n</sup> ēgās	-t <sup>p</sup> ēgār	—	-t <sup>p</sup> ētē
Buriat	-tān	-tādv	-tāji	-tāhā	-tajār	-tāsō	-tātē
Kalmuck	-tāgīn	-tādv	-tāg	-tāyās	-tāyār	—	-tātā -tālā

## Pronouns

152. The pronouns are more or less uniform in all Mongolian languages. They differ from one another mainly phonetically. Therefore, discussion of the pronouns is rather a subject of comparative phonology. However, in a few instances the differences are not due to phonetic developments.

### Personal Pronouns

153. A characteristic feature of the personal pronouns is that the stems of the oblique cases are not the same as in the nominative case.

The personal pronoun of the 1st person of the singular is \**bi*. The oblique cases are formed from two different stems. One of them is Common Mongolian \**min-* which was originally front vocalic, but became back vocalic by analogy. The other stem is \**nama*.

The Mongolian languages display a great variety of stems of this pronoun.

The nominative form is *bi* in all Mongolian languages with the exception of Monguor (\**bi* > *bu*). In Dagur the vowel *i* is long (*bi* ~ *bī*) and both in Dagur and Buriat the consonant is palatalized (*bi*).

The Common Mongolian genitive forms were \**minü* ~ \**mini*. In Written Mongolian only *minu* is found, but in Middle Mongolian *minu* ~ *mini* occur, cf. SH, H, and Mu. *minu* ~ Mu. *mini*. In the colloquial languages only developments of the form \**mini* have survived, cf. Dag. *mīnī* (as substantive *mīnīg* 'mine'), Mong. *muni*, Urd. *mini*, Kh. *minī*, Bur. *mēnī* ~ *mēnī*, Kalm. *min̩* ~ *mine*.

The dative-locative forms are very different in all Mongolian languages. The Common Mongolian form was \**namadur*, but at an early date the latter developed into \**nadur*, i.e., the syllable *ma* was

dropped. It is possible that the form *\*nadu(r)* already existed in Common Mongolian. The primary dative-locative suffix was *-\*du*, but it occurred with the directive element *-\*r* which probably was optional.

The stem *\*nama* occurs with the dative-locative suffix *-a* in the Middle Mongolian document *Hua-i i-yü*, cf. there *nama*. In Written Mongolian the dative-locative form occurs with the syllable *-ma-* dropped, the form in question being *nadur* 'to me'. In Middle Mongolian the usual form is *nada* ~ *nadur* in the *Secret History* and *nadu* in *Mugaddimat al-Adab*. The stem *\*nama* is found in Buriat *namda* and in Kalmuck *nando* < *\*namda*. The latter development is found in Mogol (cf. *nanda* 'to me'), while Dagur has *namda* alternating with *nada*. In Urdus the dative-locative is *namādu* by analogy to the accusative *namā*.

The dative-locative forms are so different in various Mongolian languages that the picture is very confusing. Therefore the forms in question will be shown in the following table:

	1.	2.
CMo.	<i>*namadu(r)</i>	<i>*nadu(r)</i>
Mo.		<i>nadur</i>
MMo. (H)	<i>nama</i>	(SH) <i>nadur</i> ~ <i>nada</i> (Mu.) <i>nadu</i>
Dag.	<i>namda</i>	<i>nada</i>
Mong.		<i>ndā</i>
Mog.	<i>nanda</i>	
Urd.	<i>namādu</i>	<i>nada</i>
Kh.		<i>nado</i> ~ <i>nadndo</i>
Bur.	<i>namda</i>	
Kalm.	<i>nando</i>	

The Middle Mongolian form *nama* occurring in the work entitled *Hua-i i-yü* is the only surviving form with the suffix *-a*, i.e., *nama* is a dative-locative form in *-a* from the stem *nama* (\**nama-a* > *nama*).

Monguor has also a special locative form *munire* with *-re* < \**degre* 'on, above' put at the end of the genitive form.

The stem \**nama* is found in several oblique case forms. This stem has lost the syllable *-ma-* at an early date. In Written Mongolian the dative-locative form is only *nadur*. In the ablative Written Mongolian has one form derived from the stem \**nama* and another one derived from the stem \**nada*, the latter being an old dative-locative. This phenomenon is found in Middle Mongolian where the dative-locative is *nada* ~ *nadu* ~ *nadur* and the ablative is *nadāsa*. In Dagur only the dative-locative has *nada*, while all the remaining oblique cases are derived from \**nama*.

Monguor has in all oblique cases, except the genitive, the stem *ndā* < \**nada*.

In Mogol the accusative has taken the place of the genitive, while the dative-locative is *nanda* < \**namda* < \**namada*.

In Urdus the accusative has become the stem for the dative-locative and instrumental. However, parallel forms based on *nada* exist: dative-locative *nada* < \**nada*, ablative *nadās*, instrumental *nadār*.

In Khalkha the stem is *naddv* in all cases except the genitive (*minī*) and the accusative (*namēg*). In the dative-locative form the syllable *-dv* (< \**da*, suffix of the locative) is doubled, cf. *nadddv* < \**nadar* (both \**da* and \**du* are locative suffixes).

In Buriat the stem is *nama* in all oblique cases, except the genitive.

Kalmuck has *namā* in the accusative, but the dative-locative is *nandv* < \**nandu* < \**namdu* < \**namadu*. The secondary stem *nan* has been generalized and appears now in the ablative, instrumental, and comitative.

The origin of the stem \**nama* is not quite clear. It is possible that *-ma-* is the same element as in Mo. *jayuma* 'something', MMo. *jama* id., etc. and \**na* is identical with Korean *na* 'I' as RAMSTEDT believes. On the other hand, in *Muqaddimat al-Adab* the accusative

form *minaji* and the ablative form *nidāsa* occur. If they are not due to an error of the author of that old dictionary, \**nama* may be explained as a development of \**nima* < \**mima*. In this case the following scheme can be established:

Nominative *bi*

Genitive stem *min* < \**bin*

In the remaining cases stem *nama* < \**nima* < \**mima* < \**bíma*.

In conclusion the accusative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative forms will be shown in the following table:

	Accusative	Ablative	Instrumental	Comitative	
CMo.	* <i>namaji</i>	* <i>namača</i>	* <i>namaþar</i>	* <i>namaluya</i>	* <i>namataj</i>
Mo.	<i>namaji</i>	<i>namača</i> ~ <i>nadača</i>	<i>namabar</i>	<i>namaluya</i>	
MMo.	SH <i>namaji</i>		SH <i>nama'ar</i>		
	Mu. <i>namai</i> ~ <i>minaji</i>	Mu. <i>nadāsa</i> ~ <i>nidāsa</i>		Mu. <i>nadalā</i>	
Dag.	<i>nam<sup>v</sup>i</i>	<i>namās</i>	<i>namār</i>		<i>namtī</i>
Mong.	<i>ndā</i>	<i>ndādza</i>	<i>ndāra</i>	<i>ndāla</i>	
Mog.	<i>namej</i>	?	?		
Urd.	<i>namāg</i> ~ <i>namā</i>	<i>nadās</i>	<i>namāgar</i> ~ <i>nadār</i>	<i>namālā</i> ~ <i>nadalā</i>	<i>nadatā</i>
Kh.	<i>nam<sup>v</sup>eg</i> ~ <i>nam<sup>v</sup>e</i>	<i>nadās</i>	<i>nadār</i>		<i>nadot<sup>v</sup>e</i>
Bur.	<i>namāji</i> ~ <i>namā</i>	<i>namhā</i>	<i>namār</i>	<i>namlār</i>	<i>namtā</i>
Kalm.	<i>namāg</i> ~ <i>namā</i>	<i>nanās</i>	<i>nanār</i>	<i>nanlā</i>	<i>nantā</i>

154. The Common Mongolian pronoun \*či 'thou' resulted from a Pre-Mongolian \*ti. Its declension is more regular than that of \*bi 'I'.

The genitive forms go back to \*činü ~ \*čini in all Mongolian languages. The Monguor locative form is based on the genitive form.

The remaining oblique cases are formed from \*čima in most Mongolian languages. In Monguor the dative has converged with the accusative (both are tšimä) and this form has become the stem for all the other oblique cases except the genitive and the locative.

In Mogol the stem of all oblique cases is the same as in the genitive, i.e., tšin-.

The declension of \*či 'thou' is demonstrated in the following table.

Cases	CMo.	Mo.	MMo.	Dag.	Mong.
Nom.	*či	či	či	ši	tši
Gen.	*činü ~ *čini	činu	činu ~ Mu. čini	šini	tšini = acc.
Dat.	*čimadu(r)	čimadur	čimadu(r) ~ čimada	šamda	
Loc.	»	»	»	»	tšinire
Acc.	*čimaji	čimaji	čimaji	šam <i>v</i> i	tšimi
Abl.	*čimača	čima-ača	čimadača	šamās	tšimādza
Instr.	*čimabar	čimabar	čima-ar	šamār	tšimāra
Com.	*čimaluya	čimaluya	čimalā	—	tšimila
	*čimataj	—	—	šam <i>v</i> i	—

Cases	Mog.	Urd.	Kh.	Bur.	Kalm.
Nom.	tši	tši	tši	ši	tši
Gen.	= acc.	tšini	tšinī	šenī ~ šeni	tšinī
Dat.	?	tšamadu	tšamodv	šamda	tšamdu
Acc.	tšinej	tšamāg ~ tšamā	tšamvēg ~ tšam <i>v</i> e	šamāji ~ šamā	tšamāg
Abl.	tšināsa	tšamās	tšamās	šamhā	tšamās
Instr.	tšinār	tšamār	tšamār	šamār	tšamār
Com.	tšinalē	tšamalā	—	šamlār	tšamlā
	—	tšamatā	tšam <i>v</i> e	šamte	tšamtā

155. The pronoun of the third person of the singular was \**i* in Common Mongolian. The stem of the genitive was \**in-* and in all the remaining oblique cases the stem was \**ima-*. This pronoun has disappeared. Its nominative does not occur in any document. In pre-classical Mongolian, however, it served as a possessive suffix, e.g., *iregsendür-i* 'when he came'. It served also as a kind of article..

The genitive forms of the personal pronouns served as indicators of the possessor of an object, i.e., they served as possessive pronouns. They occupied the place before the word concerned, e.g., Mo. *minu baysi* 'my teacher', but they were also put after the noun concerned, e.g., *qayan minu* 'my khan'. The genitive of \**i*, i.e., the form *inu* (and also the genitive of the pronoun of the third person of the plural *anu*) occupies the place after a noun, e.g., Mo. *baysi inu* 'his teacher', but in pre-classical Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian it was still put before the noun concerned. When it occupied the place after a noun it lost its stress and in Modern Mongolian languages it ultimately became a suffix: \**inu* || \**ini* > -*ni* > -*n*, etc. (possessive suffix of the third person).

The oblique cases of \**i* disappeared except the genitive, but in pre-classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian (except the dictionary *Mugaddimat al-Adab*) numerous oblique case forms derived from the stem \**ima* occurred.

Cases	Common Mongolian	Written Mongolian (pre-classical)	Middle Mongolian
Nom.	* <i>i</i>	- <i>i</i> (suffix)	—
Gen.	* <i>inu</i>	<i>inu</i>	<i>inu</i>
D.-L.	* <i>imadu(r)</i>	<i>imadur</i>	SH <i>imada</i>
Acc.	* <i>imaji</i>	<i>imaji</i>	SH <i>imaji</i>
Abl.	* <i>imača</i>	—	—
	* <i>imadača</i>	<i>imadača</i>	—
Instr.	* <i>imaβar</i>	<i>imayari</i>	SH <i>ima'ari</i>
Com.	* <i>imaluya</i>	<i>imaluya</i>	—

Note: *inu* is the only form surviving in classical Written Mongolian.

The instrumental form was *imayari* in Written Mongolian and *ima'ari* in Middle Mongolian. The final -*i* is the possessive suffix which resulted from the nominative \**i* 'he'.

The only spoken language still preserving this pronoun is Dagur. The Tsitsikar dialect of the Dagur language still has *i* < *in* < \**in* "he", genitive *iñi*. No other case forms are used there any longer.

156. Common Mongolian had two pronouns of the first person of the plural. One was an exclusive form (\**ba*) and the other was an inclusive pronoun (\**bida*). The stems of the oblique cases were \**man* and \**bidan* respectively.

The declension of these pronouns was normal. Only few languages still distinguish between the exclusive and inclusive pronoun (i.e., «we without the listeners» and «we comprising also the listeners»). In some languages the oblique cases of the exclusive pronoun have taken the place of the oblique cases of the inclusive pronoun.

Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, Monguor, Khalkha, and Kalmuck have a full declension of both exclusive and inclusive pronouns, while Dagur has a full declension of the exclusive pronoun and only the nominative and the genitive of the inclusive pronoun. Mogol has only the nominative of the latter. Urdus resembles Dagur in this respect. It has only the nominative and the genitive of the inclusive pronoun. Buriat has only the nominative of the inclusive pronoun.

Cases	Common Mongolian		Written Mongolian		Middle Mongolian	
	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.
Nom.	* <i>ba</i>	* <i>bida</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bida</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>bida</i>
Gen.	* <i>manu</i>	* <i>bidanu</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>bidanu</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>bidanu</i>
Dat. { 1	* <i>mana</i>	* <i>bidana</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>bidana</i>	<i>mana</i>	—
Dat. { 2	* <i>mandur</i>	* <i>bidandur</i>	<i>mandur</i>	<i>bidandur</i>	—	<i>bidandur</i>
Acc.	* <i>mani</i>	* <i>bidani</i>	<i>mani</i>	<i>bidani</i>	<i>mani</i>	<i>bidani</i>
Abl.	* <i>manača</i>	* <i>bidanača</i>	<i>manača</i>	<i>bidanača</i>	—	<i>bidanāsa</i>
Instr.	* <i>maniβar</i>	* <i>bidaniβar</i>	<i>manijar</i>	<i>bidanijar</i>	—	—
Com. { 1	* <i>manluya</i>	* <i>bidanluya</i>	<i>manluya</i>	<i>bidanluya</i>	—	<i>bidanlā</i>
Com. { 2	* <i>mantai</i>	* <i>bidantai</i>				

Cases	Monguor		Khalkha		Kalmuck		
	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.	
Nom.	—	buda budasgi	—	b <sup>i</sup> addv biddə	—	bid <sup>o</sup>	
Gen.	ndāni	budasgini	man <sup>v</sup> ē	biddonī biđnī	manā mān	bidnē	
Dat.	ndāsdu	budasgidu	} mandv	biddendə	mandv	bidndə	
Loc.	ndānire	—					
Acc.	ndāgini	budasgini	manīg	biđnīg	manīg	biđnīg	
Abl.	ndādza	budasgidza	manās	biđnēs	manās	biđnēs	
Instr.	ndāsgira	budasgira	manār	biđnēr	manār	biđnēr	
Com.	1 2	ndāgila	budasgila	— mant <sup>v</sup> ē	— bidontē	manlā mantā	bidnlē bidntē

In the third table the extant forms of the incomplete declension systems in Dagur, Urdus, Buriat, and Mogol will be shown.

Cases	Dagur		Mogol		Urdus		Buriat	
	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.	Excl.	Incl.
Nom.	bā	bāda	-u	bidā bidāt	—	bida	—	beđe
Gen.	mānī	bādańī	mōni	—	mani	bidani	manā	—
D.-L.	mānda	—	mōndu	—	mandu	—	manda	—
Acc.	māńī	—	—	—	mani(g)	—	mani ~ mańiji	—
Abl.	manās	—	mōnāsa	—	manās	—	manhā	—
Instr.	manār	—	—	—	manār	—	manār	—
Com.	1 2	— mant <sup>v</sup> i	— —	— —	manlā mantā	— —	mantā	—

Before we proceed to the discussion of the forms given in these tables it should be remarked that the genitive forms Kh. *man<sup>v</sup>ē*, Bur. *manā*, and Kalm. *manā* are possessive pronouns in origin (§ 159).

The general conclusion is that the nominative \**ba* exists only in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and in Dagur, while in Mogol it exists only as an ending of verbal forms (-*uu*). In all the remaining Mongolian languages the nominative form \**ba* does not occur. Only in the dialect of the Santa (*Tao ho hien*) there is the form *matā* < \**ba-tan* 'we'. Instead of \**ba* the nominative is \**bida* in all the remaining Mongolian languages. In Dagur, Monguor, Mogol, Urdus, and in some Khalkha dialects \**bida* is still a back vocalic form, while in Buriat, Kalmuck, and the remaining Khalkha dialects it has become front vocalic.

It should be added that in Mogol, Urdus, and Khalkha two nominative forms of the pronoun \**bida* exist: the primary \**bida* and secondary plural forms of the latter. These are Mogol *biddāt* (with the plural suffix -*t*), Urdus *bidanūt* or *bidanūs*, and Khalkha *b'addonvr* ~ *biddənər*, *b'addonūt* ~ *biddənūt*, and *b'addonūs* 'we'.

The stem of the oblique cases of \**ba* is *man*. The declension is regular in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, Dagur, Mogol (although not all forms are found in Mogol materials), Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck. Even in such languages which do not distinguish between the exclusive and inclusive forms in the nominative case, the oblique case forms of both pronouns still exist, except Buriat where the nominative is only *bədə*, but all the oblique cases are based on *man*, while *bədə*, *manā*, *mandā*, etc. are used on all occasions, no matter whether the speakers mean only themselves or include also the listeners.

In Dagur *bāda* has only a genitive. The same is found in Urdus, because the distinction between the exclusive and inclusive pronoun is necessary only on a few occasions.

Buriat has no oblique case forms of the pronoun *bəde* < \**bida*.

Monguor occupies a peculiar position. The form *buda* 'we' (incl.) has developed from \**bida*. The form *budasgi* has the nominal plural suffix -*sgi*. The declension of *budasgi* is normal. The exclusive forms

are derived from the stems *ndā*, *ndās* or *ndāsgī*. The latter two forms have the plural suffix -*s* or -*sgī* respectively. The stem *ndā* is a cross between \**nada* (locative of \**bi* 'I') and the locative \**manda* (nominative \**ba*). Thus *ndā* < \**nada* × \**manda*.

In Kalmuck the bare stem *man* occurs in such expressions as *man dörwleg* 'the four of us' (accusative).

157. The pronoun of the second person of the plural was \**ta* in Common Mongolian. The stem of the oblique cases was \**tan*. The same is found in Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian.

Dagur has *tā* (stem *tān*), Monguor has *ta* and *tasgi*, Mogol *to* (and *tot* or *tod* with the plural suffix -*d*), Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck have *ta* (stem *tan*).

Monguor has two parallel forms *ta* and *tasgi*. The latter is formed with the plural suffix -*sgī*. The genitive is formed from the stem *tan* or *tasgi*. The dative and ablative are formed from *tas* or *tasgi*, but the instrumental is formed only from the stem *tasgi*.

In Mogol the oblique cases are formed from *ton*, e.g., genitive *tonī*, instrumental *tonār*, etc.

In Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck the oblique cases are formed from *tan*.

Urdus has parallel forms *tānar*, *tanūs*, and *tanūt*. In Khalkha *tā* means the same as German »Sie«, i.e., it is a polite address of one person. The form *tānvr* means in Khalkha 'you' (many persons), i.e., this is a plural corresponding to German »ihr«. In Buriat besides *tā* 'you' the Khori dialect has also the form *tanūs* 'you' which is used in a derogatory sense. In Ekhirit the form *tānad* is found. All these forms are declined according to the general rules.

	Mo., MMo.	Dag.	Mong.	Mog.	Urd.	Kh., Bur.	Kalm.
Nominative	<i>ta</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>ta, tasgi</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>ta</i>
Stem of the oblique cases	<i>tan</i>	<i>tān</i>	<i>tan, tasgi,</i> <i>tas</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>tan</i>	<i>tan</i>

In the table on p. 218 only the nominative form and the stem of the pronoun of the second person of the plural have been given.

158. The pronoun of the third person of the plural was \*a in Common Mongolian. The stem of the oblique cases was \*an. Only the genitive is preserved in Written Mongolian, but in Middle Mongolian (in the *Secret History* and *Hua-i i-yü*) the genitive *anu*, the dative-locative *andur*, and the accusative *ani* occur.

None of these forms occur in spoken Mongolian.

### Possessive Pronouns

159. Common Mongolian did not have special possessive pronouns. The genitive forms of the personal pronouns took the endings -\*ya<sub>k</sub> / -\*ge<sub>k</sub> or -\*qi / -\*ki and thus possessive pronouns of the English type *mine*, *thine*, etc. arose.

#### 1 s t p. o f t h e s i n g.:

	Genitive	Possessive pronoun
Common Mongolian	*minü	*minüge <sub>k</sub>
Written Mongolian	minu	minüge <sub>k</sub> > minüke <sub>k</sub>
Middle Mongolian	minu ~ mini	—
Dagur	minī	minīg < *miniki
Monguor	muni	—
Urdus	mini	minīxi < *miniki
Khalkha	minī	minīχi < *müniki
Buriat	mēnī	mēnīxi < *miniki
Kalm.	min̩	min̩e < *minüge <sub>k</sub> minik̩i < *miniki

#### 2 n d p. o f t h e s i n g.:

	Genitive	Possessive pronoun
Common Mongolian	*činü	*činüge <sub>k</sub>
Written Mongolian	činu	činüge <sub>k</sub> > činüke <sub>k</sub>

Middle Mongolian	<i>činu ~ čini</i>	
Dagur	<i>šinī</i>	<i>šinīg &lt; *činiki</i>
Monguor	<i>tšini</i>	—
Urdus	<i>tšini</i>	<i>tšinīxi &lt; *činiki</i>
Khalkha	<i>tšinī</i>	<i>tšinīχi &lt; *činiki</i>
Buriat	<i>šenī</i>	<i>šenīxi &lt; *činiki</i>
Kalmuck	<i>tšinī</i>	<i>tšinīki &lt; *činiki</i>

## 1st p. of the plur. excl.:

	Genitive	Possessive pronoun
Common Mongolian	* <i>manu</i>	* <i>manuyaⱫ</i>
Written Mongolian	<i>manu</i>	<i>manuyaⱫ &gt; manuqaⱫ</i>
Middle Mongolian	<i>manu</i>	<i>manu'aⱫ</i>
Dagur	<i>manvī</i>	—
Monguor	<i>ndāni</i>	—
Urdus	<i>mani</i>	<i>manā &lt; *manuyaⱫ, manāxi</i>
Khalkha	—	<i>manvē &lt; *manuyaⱫ, manvēχi</i>
Buriat	—	<i>manā &lt; *manuyaⱫ, manāxi</i>
Kalmuck	—	<i>manā &lt; *manuyaⱫ, manākī</i>

## 1st p. of the plur. incl.:

	Genitive	Possessive pronoun
Common Mongolian	* <i>bidanu</i>	* <i>bidanuyaⱫ</i>
Written Mongolian	<i>bidanu</i>	<i>bidanuqaⱫ &lt; *bidanuyaⱫ</i>
Middle Mongolian	<i>bidanu</i>	<i>bidanu'aⱫ</i>
Dagur	<i>b'ādnī</i>	—
Monguor	<i>budasgini</i>	—
Urdus	<i>bidanī</i>	<i>bidanīxi &lt; *bidaniki</i>
Khalkha	<i>b'ādnī</i>	<i>b'ādnīχi &lt; *bidaniki</i>
Buriat	—	—
Kalmuck	—	<i>bidynē, bidynēkī</i>

## 2nd p. of the plur.:

	Genitive	Possessive pronoun
Common Mongolian	*tanu	*tanuyaⱩ
Written Mongolian	tanu	tanuqaⱩ < tanuyaⱩ
Middle Mongolian	tanu	tanu'aⱩ
Dagur	tan <sup>v</sup> i	—
Monguor	tani	—
Urdus	tani	tanā < *tanuyaⱩ, tanāχi
Khalkha	—	tan <sup>v</sup> e < *tanuyaⱩ, tan <sup>v</sup> ēχi
Buriat	—	tanā < *tanuyaⱩ, tanāχi
Kalmuck	taní ~ tanı	tanā < *tanuyaⱩ, tanāk?

It should be noted that the original genitive forms of the pronouns \*ba and \*ta have disappeared in Khalkha and Buriat. Their genitive forms are possessive pronouns in origin (cf. p. 217).

In Urdus the primary genitive forms are preserved (*mani*, *tani*), but they are used with the possessive pronouns *manā* and *tanā* indiscriminately.

The secondary possessive forms are Urd. *manāχi*, Kh. *man<sup>v</sup>ēχi*, and Bur. *manāχi* (*tanāχi*, *tan<sup>v</sup>ēχi*, *tanāχi*) which have developed from \**manuyaⱩ* (and \**tanuyaⱩ* respectively) to which the suffix -\*qi / -\*ki was added.

### Personal Possessive Endings

160. The genitive forms of the personal pronouns were put before or after the noun to which they referred. In the latter position they lost their stress, became enclitics, and ultimately became endings, e.g., \**aqa čini* > Khalkha *axxvtšin* 'thy elder brother'.

The personal possessive endings resulting from the genitive forms of the personal pronouns are shown in the table on p. 222.

The only true suffix is that of the third person -ni < \*inu. The ending -ni already existed in Middle Mongolian. It occurs also in all spoken languages.

161. The possessive endings are added to the case suffixes. This process is mechanical in some cases, but in other cases it is not and

	1st p.s.	2nd p.s.	1st p.pl.	2nd p.pl.	3d p.
Mo.	<i>minu</i>	<i>činu</i>	<i>manu</i>	<i>tanu</i>	<i>inu</i>
MMo. (Mu.)	<i>mini ~ -m</i>	<i>čini</i>	—	—	<i>-ni</i>
Dag.	<i>-mín ~ -mni</i>	<i>-šín ~ -šni</i>	<i>-mán</i>	<i>-tán</i>	<i>-ín</i>
Mong.	—	—	—	—	<i>-ni</i>
Mog.	<i>-mi(n)</i>	<i>-tši</i>	—	<i>-toni</i>	<i>-ni ~ -ini</i>
Urd.	<i>-min</i>	<i>-tšin</i>	<i>-man</i>	<i>-tan</i>	<i>-n ~ -ni ~ -in</i>
Kh.	<i>-mın</i>	<i>-tšın</i>	<i>-mın</i>	<i>-ton</i>	<i>-n</i>
Bur.	<i>-mni ~ -m</i>	<i>-šii ~ -š</i>	<i>-mnă</i>	<i>-tnă</i>	<i>-ń ~ -in</i>
Kalm.	<i>-mə ~ -m</i>	<i>-tšn</i>	<i>-män</i>	<i>-tn</i>	<i>-n</i>

the case suffixes undergo certain changes when taking the possessive endings.

We shall discuss each case separately. In the genitive the final \**n* of the genitive suffix disappears in Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck, when it is followed by a possessive ending with a nasal consonant at its beginning. Such endings are those of the first and third person. In the accusative the case suffix drops its final \**g* before all possessive endings in Urdus, Khalkha, and Kalmuck. This results in the conversion of the genitive and accusative forms of many nouns, which may be the cause of the confusion of these two cases in some Mongolian languages.

The table on p. 223 will show the genitive and accusative forms with the personal possessive endings.

162. In the dative-locative, ablative, instrumental, and comitative the possessive endings are added to the case suffixes more or less mechanically.

In Dagur the possessive ending of the third person is connected with all case suffixes mentioned here by a long vowel *i*.

In Buriat dialects, e.g., in Alar, the possessive ending of the third person is connected with the case suffixes ending in a consonant by a long *i*, e.g., instr. *-arıń*. This testifies to the fact that the possessive ending of the third person has really developed from an independent word (\**ini* = Mo. *inu*).

	Genitive and accusative suffixes	Genitive and accusative suffixes with possessive endings				
		1st p.s.	1st p.pl.	2nd p.s.	2nd p.pl.	3rd p.
MMo.	<i>vide table of declension, p. 194</i>	+ <i>mini</i>	+ <i>mani</i>	+ <i>čini</i>	+ <i>tani</i>	+ <i>-ni</i>
Dag.	-( <i>j</i> ) <i>i</i>	-( <i>j</i> ) <i>imini</i>	-( <i>j</i> ) <i>imān</i>	-( <i>j</i> ) <i>išin</i>	-( <i>j</i> ) <i>itān</i>	-( <i>j</i> ) <i>iň</i>
Mong.	- <i>hi</i>	—	—	—	—	- <i>nini</i>
Mog.	- <i>i</i>	—	—	—	—	- <i>ini</i>
Urd.	gen. - <i>in</i> gen. - <i>i</i> , acc. - <i>īg</i> gen. - <i>n</i>	- <i>imin</i> - <i>imīn</i> - <i>min</i>	- <i>iman</i> - <i>imān</i> - <i>man</i>	- <i>intšin</i> - <i>ilšin</i> - <i>ntšin</i>	- <i>intan</i> - <i>itan</i> - <i>ntan</i>	- <i>inīn</i> - <i>īn</i> - <i>nīn</i>
Kh.	gen. - <i>īη</i> gen. - <i>i</i> , acc. - <i>īg</i> gen. - <i>n</i> , acc. - <i>g</i>	- <i>imīn</i> - <i>imīn</i> - <i>mīn</i>	- <i>imōn</i> - <i>imōn</i> - <i>mōn</i>	- <i>intšīn</i> - <i>ilšīn</i> gen. - <i>ntšīn</i> acc. - <i>tsīn</i>	- <i>intvōn</i> - <i>itvōn</i> gen. - <i>ntvōn</i> acc. - <i>tvōn</i>	- <i>īn</i> - <i>īn</i> - <i>n</i>
Bur.	gen. - <i>īη</i> , - <i>i</i> gen. - <i>ā</i> gen. - <i>η</i> acc. - <i>iji</i> acc. - <i>ji</i>	- <i>im(ni)</i> - <i>ām(ni)</i> - <i>m</i> - <i>ijimnī</i> - <i>jimnī</i>	- <i>imnā</i> - <i>āmnā</i> - <i>mā</i> - <i>ijimnā</i> - <i>jimnā</i>	- <i>īnš(ni)</i> - <i>āš</i> - <i>nš</i> - <i>ijisnī</i> - <i>jisnī</i>	- <i>intnā</i> - <i>ātnā</i> - <i>ntnā</i> - <i>ijitnā</i> - <i>jitnā</i>	- <i>īn</i> - <i>ān</i> - <i>n</i> - <i>ijin</i> - <i>jin</i>
Kalm.	gen. - <i>in</i> gen. - <i>ā</i> gen. - <i>n</i> acc. - <i>īg</i>	- <i>im</i> - <i>ām(ə)</i> - <i>m</i> - <i>im</i>	- <i>imān</i> - <i>āmān</i> - <i>mān</i> - <i>imān</i>	- <i>īnšn</i> - <i>ātšn</i> - <i>ntšn</i> - <i>ilšn</i>	- <i>intn</i> - <i>ātn</i> - <i>ntn</i> - <i>itn</i>	- <i>īn</i> - <i>ān</i> - <i>n</i> - <i>īn</i>

In the dative-locative case the vowel is *i* in all possessive forms in Buriat, not only in the form of the third person, e.g., *aχadīmūi* 'to my elder brother'. This is due to analogy.

In Buriat the consonant *m* of the possessive endings -*mīn* and -*mān* is dropped after final consonants of the case suffixes.

The case forms with the personal possessive endings are shown in the following table (s. p. 224).

## Dative-locative

Suffix	1st p.s.	1st p.pl.	2nd p.s.	2nd p.pl.	3d p.
Dag. -da	-dámíń	-damāń	-dašiń	-datań	-dín
Urd. -du	-dumin	-duman	-dutšin	-dutan	-dun(i)
Kh. -dv	-dvm̥n	-dvm̥n	-dvtšin	-dvtvn	-don
Bur. -da	-dím	-dimnā	-diš(ni)	-dītnā	-dín
Kalm. -dv	-dŋ	-dmāń	-dvtšń	-dvtŋ	-dń

## Ablative

Suffix	1st p.s.	1st p.pl.	2nd p.s.	2nd p.pl.	3d p.
Dag. -ās	-āsmíń	-āsmāń	-āsšiń	-āstan	-āsín
Urd. -ās	-āsm̥in	-āsman	-āstšin	-āstan	-āsan
Kh. -ās	-āsm̥n	-āsmvn	-āstšin	-āstvn	-āsvn
Bur. -hā	-hām	-hāmnā	-hāš(ni)	-hātnā	-hāń
Kalm. -ās	-āsm̥	-āsmāń	-āstšń	-āstŋ	-āsń

## Instrumental

Suffix	1st p.s.	1st p.pl.	2nd p.s.	2nd p.pl.	3d p.
Dag. -ār	-ārmíń	-ārmāń	-āršiń	-ārtan	-ārín
Urd. -ār	-ārmin	-ārman	-artšin	-ārtan	-āran
Kh. -ār	-ārm̥n	-ārmvn	-ārtšin	-ārtvn	-ārvn
Bur. -ār	-ārīm	-ārnā	-aršni	-ārtnā	-ārín
		-ārní			
Kalm. -ār	-ārm̥	-ārmāń	-ārtšń	-ārtŋ	-ārń

## Comitative

Suffix	1st p.s.	1st p.pl.	2nd p.s.	2nd p.pl.	3d p.
Dag. -t̥i	-t̥imíń	-t̥imāń	-t̥išiń	-t̥itan	-t̥in
Urd. -lā	-lamin	-lāman	-lātšin	-lātan	-lāran
Kh. -t̥ē	-t̥em̥n	-t̥emvn	-t̥etšin	-t̥etvn	-t̥en
Bur. -tē	-tēm	-tēmnā	-tēš	-tētnā	-tēń
Kalm. -tā	-tām	-tāmāń	-tātšń	-tātŋ	-tāń
	-lā	-lām	-lātšń	-lātŋ	-lāń ~ -lārn̥

Monguor has only the possessive ending of the third person. The case suffixes with the possessive ending are:

Dative	(-du)	: -dumi
Locative	(-re)	: -reni
Ablative	(-dza)	: -dzani
Instrumental	(-ra)	: -rani
Comitative	(-la)	: -lani

### Demonstrative Pronouns

163. The demonstrative pronouns have nominative forms different from the stems of the oblique cases.

Common Mongolian had the demonstrative pronouns \*ene 'this', \*tere 'that', \*ede 'these', and \*tede 'those'.

The nominative case forms and the stems were as follows:

Nominative	*ene	*tere
Stem	*egün	*tegün.

The declension is regular in general.

The roots of these pronouns are \*e and \*te. The nominative forms consist of the elements \*e-n-e and \*te-r-e. The stems consist of the elements \*e-gün and \*te-gün.

The final e in *ene* and *tere* is a deictic element. The element -n- occurs in all pronouns, e.g., personal (\*mi-n-u, \*či-n-u, \*i-n-u) and interrogative pronouns (\*ja-n 'what?', \*ke-n 'who?', etc.).

The element -r- in *te-r-e* cannot be explained by the facts of Mongolian linguistics alone. It occurs, however, as an element in the demonstrative pronouns in Manchu-Tungus languages, cf. Ma. *ere* 'this', Tung. (Solon) *eri* 'this', and Ma. *tere* 'that', Tung. (Solon) *tari* 'that' (Solon plur. *elur* 'these' and *talur* 'those').

The roots \*e and \*te occur in Written Mongolian *edüj* 'so much, not yet', Middle Mongolian (*Secret History*) *eži'e* < \*edige 'as yet', Mo. *ele* 'this, this same', *ende* 'here'; *tedüj* 'that much', *težijede* < \*tedige-de 'then', *tende* 'there' (with the same element -n- in *ende*

and *tende*), MMo. (SH) *teli* 'that thing' (cf. SH *keli* 'when?' and *kežije* < \**kedige* 'when?', *kedüj* 'how much?').

The stems \**egün* and \**tegün* are derived with -\**gün* (-\**yun*) which is found in Mo. *jayun* 'what?' (cf. *jambar* < \**jan-ber* 'what, which?', MMo. *jama* 'thing'), Mo. *jayuma* < \**jayun be* 'thing', \**kegüme* < \**egin be* 'something', Al.B *jūmę* *χūmę* < \**jegüme kegüme* < \**egin be* *kegün be* 'anything', cf. Urd. *jumu kumu* 'thing', Dag. *jökki* ~ *jökę* < \**jegü ke* 'what?'.

164. A great variety of declension stems are found in spoken Mongolian languages. Many secondary analogical forms have appeared.

\**ene* 'this'

	C Mo.	Mo.	MMo.	Dag.	Mong.	Mog.	Urd.	Kh.	Bur.	Kalm.
Nominative	* <i>ene</i>	<i>ene</i>	SH, Mu. <i>ene</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>nie</i>	<i>enä</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>enə</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>enə</i>
Declension stems	* <i>enen</i>	—	Mu. <i>enen</i>	<i>ene</i>	<i>nie</i> ~ <i>niän</i>	<i>enän</i>	—	<i>enən</i>	<i>enən</i>	—
	* <i>egün</i>	<i>egün</i>	SH <i>e'ün</i> Mu. <i>ün</i> (?)	—	—	—	<i>ün</i>	<i>ün</i>	<i>ün</i>	<i>ün</i>
	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>enün</i>	<i>enün</i>	—	<i>enün</i>

\**te* & \**tere*

	C Mo.	Mo.	MMo.	Dag.	Mong.	Mog.	Urd.	Kh.	Bur.	Kalm.
Nominative	* <i>te</i>	—	—	—	<i>tie</i>	<i>te</i>	—	<i>tē in tē terə</i>	—	—
	* <i>tere</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>tere</i>	—	—	<i>tere</i>	<i>terə</i>	<i>tere</i>	<i>terə</i>
Declension stems	* <i>ten</i>	—	—	—	<i>tie</i>	<i>ten</i>	—	—	<i>tēn</i>	—
	* <i>tegün</i>	<i>tegün</i>	<i>te'ün</i>	—	—	—	<i>tūn</i>	<i>tūn</i>	<i>tūn</i>	<i>tūn</i>
	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>terūn</i>	<i>terūn</i>	—	<i>terūn</i>
	—	—	—	<i>tere</i>	—	—	—	<i>terən</i>	<i>terən</i>	—

The tables show that Common Mongolian had the oblique case stems \**enēn* (Mu., Dag., Mong., Mog., Kh., and Buriat, in the latter with the lengthening of the vowel by analogy) and \**egün* (Mo., MMo., Urd., Kh., Bur., and Kalm.). The stem \**enegün* (> Urd., Kh. *enün*, Kalm. *enün*) is a cross between \**enēn* and \**egün*. This is, probably, a new form.

The original and the shortest form of the demonstrative pronoun 'that' was \**te* (Mong. and Mog.). An analogical form \**e* should have existed, but this does not occur. The other, longer form of the pronoun in question is \**tere* which is common (Mo., MMo., Dag., Urd., Kh., Bur., and Kalm.).

The stem of the oblique case forms is \**ten* (Mong., Mog., Bur., in the latter with a long ē by analogy). The usual stem is \**tegün* (Mo., MMo., Urd., Kh., Bur., Kalm.). There is also the form \**teregün*, a cross between \**tegün* and \**teren*.

165. The plural forms of \**ene* and \**tere* were \**ede* and \**tede* in Common Mongolian.

	CMo.	Mo.	MMo.	Dag.	Urd.	Kh.	Bur.	Kalm.
Nominative	* <i>ede</i> * <i>tede</i>	<i>ede</i> <i>tede</i>	<i>ede</i> <i>tede</i>	<i>ede</i> <i>tede</i>	<i>ede</i> <i>tede</i>	<i>èddə</i> <i>tèddə</i>	<i>ede</i> <i>tede</i>	<i>ed<sup>2</sup></i> <i>ted<sup>2</sup></i>
Declension stems	* <i>eden</i> * <i>teden</i>	<i>eden</i> <i>teden</i>	<i>eden</i> <i>teden</i>	<i>ede</i> <i>tede</i>	<i>eden</i> <i>teden</i>	<i>èddən</i> <i>tèddən</i>	<i>eden ~ edən</i> <i>teden ~ tedən</i>	<i>edn</i> <i>tedn</i>
	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>edün</i>	—
	—	—	—	—	—	—	<i>tedün</i>	—

In Monguor the plural forms are based on the nominative of the singular. The plural ending is *-sgi*, the forms in question being *niesgi* 'these' and *tiesgi* 'those'. In other words, the plural is formed according to the nominal pattern.

In Mogol the plural stems are formed with the suffix *-d* from the nominative forms of the singular. The plural forms are *enät* 'these' and *ted* 'those'.

The stems \**edegün* (> Bur. *qđūn*) and \**tedegün* (> Bur. *tđūn*) are a result of contamination, a kind of cross: \**eden* × \**egün* and \**teden* × \**tegün*.

The roots \**e* and \**te* are found in Mo. *ele*, Kh. *éllə* 'this', \**eli* 'this thing' and \**teli* > MMo. *teli* 'that thing' (formed like MMo. *keli* 'when?'), in the demonstrative verbs \**eji-* and \**teji-* 'to do in this manner' and 'to do in that manner' (cf. Kh. *enqə-* < \**en-ge-* and *teqə-* < \**te-ge-* 'to do in this manner' and 'to do in that manner' respectively), in the adverbs *ende* 'here and *tende* 'there', etc.

The demonstrative pronouns Mo. *ejimü* 'such as this' and *tejimü* 'such as that' are in origin verbal nouns of the demonstrative verbs *eji-* 'to do in this manner' and *teji-* 'to do in that manner'. This verbal noun in -*m(i)* has become the *Praesens imperfecti* in Written Mongolian (§ 205—206).

The roots \**e* and \**te* can also be found in Mo. *edüj* 'not yet' and Mo. *tedüj* 'so much' (like *kedüj* 'how much?'). Cf. also Mo. *ežijede* < \**edigede* 'always' and *težijede* < \**tedigede* 'then'. Most of these forms occur in the spoken languages in which they have developed according to the general phonetic rules.

166. The stems \**eden* and \**teden* occur with the ending *-ger*, cf. Mo. *edeger* 'these' and *tedeger* 'those'. The ending is the same as in *bügüdeger* 'all', *yayčayar* 'alone', *qotolayar* 'entirely, everybody, in all places', etc. It is the old instrumental suffix. The forms *edeger* and *tedeger* have acquired their suffix by analogy. The element *-de* in *ede* 'these' and *tede* 'those' consists of the plural suffix *-d* taken by stems ending in *n*. Thus *ede* and *tede* are plural forms of \**en* and \**ten*. The final vowel *e* in *ede* and *tede* is the same deictic element as in *ene* 'this' and *tere* 'that'.

The stems *eden* and *teden* occur in various Mongolian languages with the usual plural suffixes added pleonastically:

Urd. *edenūt*, *edenūs*; *tedenūt*, *tedenūs*; Kh. *éddənər*, *téddənər*.

The Buriat stems *qđūn* and *tđūn* are due to analogy: *qđe* × \**egün* and *tđe* × \**tegün*.

### Interrogative and Indefinite Pronouns.

167. Common Mongolian had the following pronouns: \*ken 'who', \*ke 'what', \*kegüme 'something'; \*jan 'what kind', \*jayun 'what', and \*jama 'something'.

The pronoun \*ken 'who' is declined regularly. Its plural is \*ked. There is also an adverb \*ker 'how'. The endings are here \*n, \*d, and \*r (cf. \*en-e 'this', \*ed-e 'these', and \*ter-e 'that').

The pronoun \*ken is found in all languages: CMo. \*ken (pl. \*ked), Mo. ken (ked), MMo. ken (pl. ket), Dag. kəŋ, Mong. kān, Mog. ken, Urd. ken, Kh., Bur. χəŋ, Kalm. ken.

The secondary stem \*kegün has the suffix -gün (/ -run) which is found in Mo. ja-run 'what' and in the stems e-gün (stem of \*ene 'this') and te-gün (stem of \*tere 'that'). cf. \*ken : \*kegün = \*jan : \*jayun. The form \*kegüme < \*kegün be is the original form of Buriat Alar χūmę 'something' which occurs in the expression jūmę χūmę < \*jegüme kegüme; cf. also Kalm. kūn < \*kegün, Urd. kum in jumu kuumēn 'his own belongings' (accusative).

The root \*ke is found in Middle Mongolian keli 'when?' derived in the same manner as teli (in SH) 'that thing' and Mo. ali 'which?'. It can be followed in Mo. kedüj 'how much?' (sing.) and kedün 'how many?' (plural), Mo. kežije < \*kedige 'when?'.

\*ke 'what?' occurred in Middle Mongolian only in connection with \*jayu, cf. MMo. ja'u ke, in SH ja'u ke 'whatsoever', P ja'u k'edi (acc. plur.) id., Dag. jəkə < \*jegü ke 'what?'.

By analogy with \*jayun 'what?' and \*jayuma 'something', Mongor käma 'no matter what kind' is derived. The form \*jambar, Bur. jamar 'what?' served as a pattern for Bur. χemer 'what?' in the expression Al.B jamar χemer 'what?', cf. also Dag. kemer 'what?' (refers to people), also Dag. ejmer 'such as this' and tqimer 'such as that'.

168. The root \*ja is found in \*jan; cf. MMo. (Mu.) jan 'what kind?'. By adding the particle \*be the form \*jama < \*jam be < \*jan be was created (unless -ma in jama is the same as -ma-

in *na-ma-ji* 'me', *či-ma-ji* 'thee', *i-ma-ji* 'him'). We find \**jama* in MMo. (Mu.) *jama* 'something', Mong. *jäma*, Mog. *jema*.

Written Mongolian has the pronoun *jambar* < \**jan ber* 'what sort of, what kind'; cf. MMo. (SH) *jambar*, Dag. *janar*, Mong. *jämar* 'what sort' (cf. also Mong. *amar* 'what kind of' derived form \**a*, cf. Mo. *ali* 'which?', Kalm. *äl* 'where?'; the relation of *ali* to *amar* is the same as that of *keli* 'when?' to \**kemer* > Bur. *χemer* 'what kind?'), cf. also Mog. *jemär* 'how?', Urd. *jamar* 'what kind?', Kh. *jamor*, Bur. *jamor*, Kalm. *jamärñ* 'what kind?' (the Kalmuck form is a contamination of \**jamor* and the instrumental case of the possessive declension -*ärñ*).

There is also the stem \**jayun* with the suffix -*yun* (as *e-gün*, *te-gün*, \**ke-gün*, etc.), cf. Mo. *jayun* 'what', MMo. (SH) *ja'un* 'what, what kind?' (cf. also the feminine form *ja'užin* in SH), Dag. *jō* < \**jayun* (cf. the parallel form *jō* < \**jegün*); Urd. *jūn* 'what kind?', Kh. *jū* 'what' and *jūñ* 'what kind?'.

Parallel front vocalic forms are Urd. *jūñ* < \**jegü* and Dag. *jōñ* 'what?'. These parallel forms have front vowels due to the consonant *j*.

Buriat has *jūñ* and Kalm. has *jūn* 'what?'.

169. A peculiar feature of the Mongolian languages is the interrogative verb 'to act in what manner?' or 'to do what?' This verb is derived from the root \**ja*. Common Mongolian had \**jaya-*, \**jeji-* < \**jaji-*, and \**jeći-*.

CMo. \**jeći-*

Mo. *jeći-*

MMo. *jeći-*.

In Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian the verb *jeći-* occurs only in the form of the *Converbum modale*.

The stem \**jaya-* (in \**jayaqī-* 'to act in what manner') has a complete conjugation in Written Mongolian. Many forms of this verb occur also in Urdus, cf. there *jākχi-* 'to do what?'.

The most common interrogative verb is \**jaya-*, cf. Dag., Mong., Urd., Kh., Bur. *jā-* 'to do what', Kalm. *jā-* ~ *jayv-* id.

Analogically to *eji-* 'to do in this manner' and *teji-* 'to do in that

manner' the verbal stem *\*jaji-* 'to act in what manner' was derived from the root *\*ja*. Under the influence of the initial and medial *j* and also by analogy to the front vocalic verbs *eji-* and *teji-* the stem *\*jaji-* at an early stage became *\*jeji-*, cf. Mo. *jeji-*, Kh. *i-* < *\*jī-* < *\*jeji-* 'to act in what manner', cf. the Khalkha expression *isən jāsm* 'what kind of' and *inə jānv* 'what should one do?'. .

### Reflexive Pronouns

170. The primary stem is *\*ößen* which still exists as *ən* (stem *ən*) 'oneself' in Dagur. The plural form was *\*ößed* which still existed in Middle Mongolian, cf. SH *ö'ed* in the form *ö'edijen* 'themselves'.

Another stem of the reflexive pronoun was *\*ößer* with the suffix *-r* which we find in *te-r-e* 'that' etc. This form occurs as *öber* in Written Mongolian. The latter form occurs also with the suffix *-sün*, cf. Mo. *öbersün* ~ *öbesün* 'oneself', its plural being *öbesüd* < *\*öbersüd*.

The table on p. 232 will show the developments in the Mongolian languages.

Monguor is omitted from the table, because the Monguor form *ndžienā* 'oneself' is not a regular development. It is the result of contamination of *\*ößen* with *\*ößesünijen*, i.e., *\*(öße)n + \*(öße)sünijen* > *\*nsünijen* > *ndžienā* + *ā*.

### Reflexive-possessive Suffix

171. The reflexive-possessive suffix indicates that the object in question belongs to the actor. It has the same meaning as Latin *suum* or Russian *своё*.

The reflexive-possessive suffix has developed from the reflexive-possessive pronoun *\*ößen* added to the end of a noun in the same manner as the genitive forms of the personal pronouns were added to the end of nouns.

The pronoun *\*ößen* corresponds to Tungus *mēn*, cf. Tungus of Barguzin *mēnekēn* 'oneself' (with the diminutive suffix *-kēn*), cf. also

	CMo. (stem)	Mo. (stem/nom.)	MMo. (stem/nom.)	Dag. (stem/ nom.)	Mog.	Urd.	Kh.	Bur.	Kalm.
Singular	*ößen	—	—	ēn / ēñ	—	—	—	—	—
	*ößer	öber / öberijen	öer ~ ör / Mu. örēn	wēr / —	öär / öärini 'himself'	ör / örön	ñr / ñrñ	ñr / ñrñ	— / ewrēn ~ erwēn
	*öbersün	öbe(r)sün / öbesüben	SH ö'esün / ö'esünijen	—	—	ös / ösön	ñsan / ñsnñ	Ts. ñsön / ñsnñ Al. ñhōn / —	—
Plural	*öbed	—	SH ö'ed	—	—	—	—	Al. ñd / ñdñ	—
	*ößer + pl. suffix	—	—	—	—	örud / öruden.	—	—	—
	*öbersüd	öbe(r)süd / öbesüdijen	SH ö'esüd / ö'esüdijen	—	—	ösüd / ösüden	ñsad / ñsadñ	Ts. ñsöd	—

*mēnmi* 'myself' = Korean *mōm* < \**mēn* 'body, person'. The suffix -\**ben* has developed from the reflexive pronoun \**ōβen* > Dag. *ēŋ* 'self'.

It is important to state that in Mongolian traditional pronunciation of Written Mongolian the suffix in question is always *-bēn*, even after back vocalic stems. But in Middle Mongolian the reflexive-possessive suffix already complied with the rules of vowel harmony.

172. The reflexive-possessive suffix was a pronoun in Pre-Mongolian. There it was \**ōβen*. In Common Mongolian it was already a suffix. There it was -\**βen* after final vowels of the stem and -\**iβen* after final consonants. The development of this suffix is shown below.

	After final vowels	After final consonants
Common-Mongolian	-* <i>βen</i>	-* <i>iβen</i>
Written Mongolian	<i>-ban</i> / <i>-ben</i>	<i>-ijan</i> / <i>-ijen</i>
Middle Mongolian		
SH	<i>-ba'an</i> / <i>-be'en</i> -' <i>an</i> / -' <i>en</i>	<i>-ijan</i> / <i>-ijen</i>
H	<i>-ban</i> / <i>-ben</i> -' <i>an</i> / -' <i>en</i>	<i>-ijan</i> / <i>-ijen</i>
Mu.		<i>-ān</i> / -' <i>ēn</i>
Dagur		<i>-āmal</i> / -' <i>ēmel</i>
Monguor		- <i>nā</i>
Mogol		<i>-ān</i> / - <i>ān</i>
Urdus		<i>-ān</i> / - <i>ēn</i>
Khalkha		<i>-ā(η)</i> / - <i>ē(η)</i>
Buriat		- <i>ā</i> / - <i>ē</i>
Kalmuck		<i>-ān</i> / - <i>ēn</i>

In Khalha and Buriat the suffix occurs in four forms, i.e., with the vocalism *ā*, *ē*, *ō*, and *ā* according to the rules of vowel harmony and labial attraction.

In Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian this suffix occurred in two forms, one after final vowels and another one after final consonants. Written Mongolian *-ijan* has developed from *\*ipan*. Vowel harmony is optional in this suffix in Written Mongolian.

In Middle Mongolian, at least in its western dialects, the suffix already has become a real suffix complying with the vowel harmony rules. The suffix is *-ān* / *-ēn* in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*, i.e., it is the same as in Mogol, Urdus, Kalmuck, and almost the same as in Khalkha and Buriat.

The reflexive-possessive suffix is *-āmal* / *-ēmēl* or *-āmul* / *-ēmul* in Dagur. This is an interesting development. The initial long vowel of the suffix is due to the influence of the pronoun *ēn* < *\*ōben* 'self'. Thus *-āmal* has developed from *\*ōben* × *\*βen* > *\*men* > *\*mūn* > *\*mul*, etc.

173. The reflexive-possessive suffix was added to the end of the stem with no case suffix. This form served as accusative in Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian, cf. H *bejeben* 'himself' (literally 'his own body'), *sabasijan* 'their own containers'.

In *Muqaddimat al-Adab* the suffix *-ān* / *-jān* immediately at the end of the stem serves as the accusative and genitive ending in the reflexive possessive declension.

Dagur has *-āmal* / *-ēmēl* or *-āmul* / *-ēmul* in the accusative and genitive. Mogol has *-jān* / *-ijān*. Monguor has *-nā* in these two cases, etc.

The genitive and accusative forms are shown in the following table. We shall see that these cases have completely or partly converged in a number of languages.

	Genitive	Accusative
Mo.	<i>-juyan</i> / <i>-jügen</i>	<i>-ban</i> / <i>-ijan</i> or = genitive
MMo.		
SH	<i>-ju'an</i> / <i>-jü'en</i>	<i>-ba'an</i> / <i>-ijan</i>
H	<i>-(j)nu'an</i>	<i>-ban</i> / <i>-ijan</i>
Mu.	<i>-ān</i> / <i>-jān</i>	= genitive

Dag.	-āmul / -ēmul -āmal / -ēməl	} = genitive
Mōng.	-nā	
Mōg.	-jān / -ijān	= genitive
Urd.	-inān -gīnān -nān -ān (1) -ān (2)	= genitive -iğān -ğān -ğān = genitive (-ān) = genitive (-ān) (the final <i>n</i> of the stem is dropped in the acc.)
Kh.	-iŋχā(η) -iχā(η) -ηχā(η)	-ā(η) ~ -iğā(η) -ā(η) -ğā(η)
Bur.		
Al.	-jā, -qā, -ā	= genitive (stems ending in <i>n</i> preserve it in the genitive but drop it in the accusative)
Khori	-iŋgā -v̥iŋgā -ŋgā	-ā, -jā -qā
Kalm.	-inān -āyān.	-ān, -iyān

Examples:

Mo. *aqaban* 'one's own elder brother' (acc.), *aqajuyan* (same and genitive).

MMo. (SH) *ekejü'en* 'one's own mother' (acc. and gen.), *kō'ünbe'en* 'one's own son' (acc.); (H) *uridusu'an* 'of one's own ancestors' (gen.), *bejeben* or *bejejü'en* 'himself, his own body' (acc.), *sabasijan* 'one's own containers' (acc.); (Mu.) *śidünēn* 'one's own teeth' (acc.), *ni'ūrān* 'one's own face' (acc.), *čiqijān* 'one's own ears' (acc.), *andajān* 'of one's own friend' (gen.).

Dag. *idēlgēmul* 'one's own food' (acc. and gen.), *auesāmal* 'one's own coffin' (acc. and gen.).

Mong. *āwanā* 'one's own father' (gen.), *χoninā* 'one's own sheep' (acc.).

Mog. *bōbojān* 'one's own father' (acc. and gen.), *kōwnijān* 'one's own son' (acc. and gen.).

Urd. *bagšinān* 'of one's own teacher' (gen.) — *bagšīgān* 'one's own teacher' (acc.), *dāgīnān* 'of one's own chief of federation' (gen.) — *dāgān* (acc.), *dugūnān* 'of one's own district' (gen.) — *dugūgān* 'one's own district' (acc.), *χānān* (1) 'of one's own khan' (gen. and acc.), *χadānān* (2) 'of one's own rock' (gen.) — *χadān* 'one's own rock' (acc.).

Kh. *axvīnχā(η)* 'of one's own elder brother' (gen.) — *axā(η)* or *axvīgā(η)* 'one's own elder brother' (acc.), *morīnīχō(η)* 'of one's own horse' (gen.) — *morīō(η)* or *morīgō(η)* 'one's own horse' (acc.), *noχvēñχō(η)* 'of one's own dog' (gen.) — *noχvēyō(η)* 'one's own dog' (acc.).

Alar Bur. *ɛχɛjē* 'one's own mother' (gen. and acc.), *burūgā* 'one's own calf' (gen. and acc.), *modonō* 'of one's own tree' (gen.) — *modō* or *modojō* 'one's own tree' (acc.).

Khori Bur. *axīngā* 'of one's own elder brother' (gen.) — *axorjā* 'one's own elder brother' (acc.), *motīnēñgō* 'of one's own horse' (gen.) — *motō* 'one's own horse' (acc.), *noχvēñgō* 'of one's own dog' (gen.) — *noχvēgō* 'one's own dog' (acc.).

Kalm. *galinān* 'of one's own fire' (gen.) — *galān* or *galiyān* 'one's own fire' (acc.), *usnāyān* 'of one's own water' (gen.) — *usān* or *usiyān* 'one's own fire' (acc.).

The accusative and genitive are partly distinguished in Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian. They have converged in Dagur, Monguor, Mogol, and in the Alar dialect of Buriat (with the exception of stems ending in *n* in the latter).

These two cases are distinguished well in Urdus, Khalkha, Khori Buriat, and Kalmuck.

174. The endings of the remaining cases are shown on p. 237.

## Dative-Locative

CMo.	-*da <sup>β</sup> an	-*duri <sup>β</sup> an	—
Mo.	-dayan	-durijan	—
MMo.			
SH	-da'an	-durijan	—
H	-da'an	-duri <sup>β</sup> an	—
Mu.	-dān	-duri <sup>β</sup> ān	—
Dag.	-dāmul	—	—
Mong.	—	—	-dunā
Mog.	—	—	-dunān
Urd.	-dān	—	—
Kh.	-dā(η)	—	—
Bur.	-dā	—	—
Kalm.	-dān	—	—

## Ablative

CMo.	-*ča <sup>β</sup> an	-*ača <sup>β</sup> an
Mo.	—	-ačaban ~ -ačayan
MMo.		
SH H	—	-ača <sup>β</sup> an
Mu.	—	no examples available
Dag.	—	-āsāmul ~ -āsābul
Mong.	-dzanā	—
Mog.	-sajān	-āsajān
Urd.	—	-āsān
Kh.	—	-āsā(η)
Bur.		
Al.	—	-hān
Khori	—	-hān
Kalm.	—	-āsān

## Instrumental

- CMo.      -\*βari<sup>β</sup>an / -\*iβari<sup>β</sup>an  
 Mo.      -barijan / -ijarijan

## MMo.

H	<i>-barijan / -ijaran</i>
Mu.	<i>-ārān</i>
Dag.	<i>-ārāmul</i>
Mong.	<i>-ranā</i>
Mog.	<i>-ārijān (?)</i>
Urd.	<i>-ārān</i>
Kh.	<i>-ārā(η)</i>
Bur.	<i>-ārā</i>
Kalm.	<i>-ārān</i>

## Comitative Comitative-Instrumental

CMo.	<i>-*luyabān</i>	<i>-*luyabarijan</i>
Mo.	<i>-luyabān</i>	<i>-luyabarijan</i> (pre-cl.)
MMo.		

SH	<i>-lu'aban</i>	
Mu.	—	<i>-lārān</i>
Mong.	<i>-lanā</i>	—
Mog.	<i>-lejān</i>	—
Urd.	—	<i>-lāran</i>
Bur.	—	<i>-lārā</i>
Kalm.	—	<i>-lārān</i>

## Comitative

Mo.	<i>-tajīyan</i> < Colloquial
Urd.	<i>-tāgān</i>
Kh.	<i>-tōēqā(η)</i>
Bur.	<i>-tajā</i>
Kalm.	<i>-tāyān</i>

## Feminine forms

175. The Mongolian languages do not have a grammatical gender. However, in cases in which it is necessary to indicate that the being concerned is a female special endings are used.

### (A) Diminutive forms

(a) Diminutive forms of nouns denote also female beings, i.e., women. The suffix is *-\*qan*.

Mo. *nojigan* < \**nojaqan* 'princess', Kh., Ts.B *nōēχvη* id., Kalm. *nojxon* 'wife of a prince, demoiselle', from Mo. *nojan*, Kh. *nojjη*, Kalm. *nojη* 'prince'.

Mo. *keüken* < \**keβken* 'girl, child', MMo. (SH) *ke'üken* 'child', Urd. *kūx<sup>k</sup>χen* 'girl, little boy', Kh. *χūχəη* 'girl, daughter', AgaB *χūgəη* 'girl, child', Kalm. *kükη* 'girl, child of a prince', from Mo. *keü* < \**keβ*, MMo. *ke'ün*, Kh. *χū* 'son'.

(b) Another diminutive suffix is *-qaⱩ / -kei*.

Ekh.B *dūχē* < \**degükei* 'younger sister, demoiselle, miss', from Ekh.B *dū* 'younger brother', Kh. *dū*, Mo. *degüü* id.

### (B) Special endings

Special endings are found in proper names of women in Middle Mongolian and in Buriat. Such an ending is *-\*lun / -\*lün*.

SH *temülün* name of the sister of Temüjin, derived from Mo. *temür* 'iron'.

Kh.B *altalan* < \**altalun* the name of the wife of Altan Khan, main character in an epic story, derived from *altaŋ* 'gold'.

Kh.B *munguləŋ* *χataŋ* < \**möngülün* the name of the wife of *munguŋ* *χāŋ*, one of the epic heroes, derived from *munguŋ*, Mo. *möngün* 'silver'.

## (C) Colors of female creatures

The suffix *-γčin* / *-gčin* is taken by nouns denoting colors when the latter refer to female animals.

Mo. *qarayčin* 'black' (e.g., cow), MMo. *qarayči'ut* id. (pl.), cf. Mong. suff. *-gšdži*, Urd. *χaraqtši* 'black', Kh. *χarvktši*, Bur. *χaraqšan*, Kalm. *χarvktšn* 'black' (cow or another female).

Mo. *žayayčin* 'a female animal with a dark mane and dark tail' (from *žayal* id. male), Bur. *zagaqšan* id.

These forms serve to indicate the color of female beings, mainly domestic animals, but in the Aga dialect of the Buriat language they also serve as proper names of women, e.g., *šaragšan* Yellow.

It is important to mention that the attributes of inanimate objects sometimes have such forms not only in Middle Mongolian but also in modern Khalkha:

SH *alayčin tuy* 'a motley banner', Kh. *šarvktšn numo* 'yellow bow', etc.

(D) The suffix *\*žin*

(a) The suffix *\*žin* occurs as an ending of words indicating the age of female beings, e.g., Mo. *runažin* 'three years old' (cf. *runan* the same but male), MMo. (SH) *runažin*, Urd. *gunadži*, Kh. *gundži* *unē* 'a three years old cow', Al.B *gunčan nēñ* id., Kalm. *gundžn* 'three years old'.

(b) This suffix occurs also as an ending of various words referring to women, e.g., Mong. *sgedžin* < *\*jekežin* 'noblewoman', Mo. *monjolžin* 'a Mongol woman', MMo. (SH) *baryužin* *yo'a* the name of the wife of *baryudai mergen*, etc.

(c) A number of words have attributes with the feminine suffix *-žin* in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and spoken Mongolian languages.

In the first place names of languages should be mentioned:

Mo. *monjolžin kelen* 'Mongolian language', *ujiyuržin kelen* 'Uigur language', etc.

(d) The names of rivers take this suffix, e.g., *monjolžin* 'the river Mongoljin', Mo. *baryužin*, Bur. *bargažan* 'the Barguzin River' (in Transbaikalia), etc.

176. A special numeral referring to women is found in Middle Mongolian. This is SH *žirin* 'two' (cf. § 180).

In conclusion it should be mentioned that there is also a special plural suffix *\*yuld* which was taken by nouns denoting female beings (§ 120). Certain verbal forms also referred to women as we shall see in the chapter dealing with conjugation.

## Numerals

### Cardinal Numerals

177. The numerals differ only phonetically from one another in the Mongolian languages. Therefore, the discussion of the numerals is a chapter of comparative phonology rather than of morphology. For this reason here only such numerals will be discussed which display irregular phonetic developments or differ from each other in morphology.

We shall start with the numeral »one».

178. The numeral »one» was \**niken* in Common Mongolian. Perfectly normal developments are AMo. *niken*, MMo. (SH, H, Mu.) *niken*, (P) *nik'en*, Dag. *nike* ~ *neke*, Shirongol (Wuyangpu) *nike*, Mogol *nikan*. In the remaining Mongolian languages the consonant \**k* has resulted in *g*, probably by analogy to numerous words ending in -yan / -gen, e.g., Mo. *ünegen* 'fox', *emegen* 'old woman', etc., cf. Mong. *nige*, Urd. *nege*, Kh. *nigə*, Bur. *negəŋ*, Kalm. *negr* 'one'.

179. The numeral »two» is *qajar* in Written Mongolian. In most Mongolian languages we find its phonetic equivalents: CMo. \**qajar*, Mo. *qajar*, MMo. (SH, H, P, Mu.) *qajar*, Dag. *χojir* ~ *χoīr*, Mog. *qojōr*, Urd. *χojor*, Kh. *χojir* ~ *χojir*, Bur. *χojor*, Kalm. *χoīr* id.

Besides this form, there was another form CMo. \**qoyar*, i.e., with -y-. The form \**qoyar* is found in Mo. *qoyor* 'between, in the middle' (cf. Mo. *qoyor dumda* 'in the center'), Mo. *qoyorundu* 'between', Urd. *χōrondu*, Kh. *χōrondv*, Bur. *χōrondo*, Kalm. *χōrṇdu* 'between'.

The stem \**qoyar* still occurs as a numeral in Monguor, in some other dialects spoken in the province of Kansu, and in the Kachug subdialect of the Ekhirit dialect of the Buriat language: cf. Mong.

*'gōr* 'two', San chuan *qor*, Wuyangpu *kor*, Pounan *gar*, Shira Yogur *qur*, KachugB *χōr* 'two'.

The root \**qo* (in \**qajar* 'two', \**qorin* 'twenty', etc.) is also found in \**qos* 'pair' and in *qosmalžin* 'twin' (as in twin-bed, twin-city, etc.), 'belonging to a pair' from \**qosman* (with the suffix -*lžin* as in *yurbalžin* 'triangle').

180. Common Mongolian had another numeral »two« which served only to count female living beings. This was \**žirin* formed in the same manner as \**qorin* 'twenty'. The primary root is \**ži*. It is found in the ancient ordinal numeral \**žitüger* 'second' which is formed in the same manner as Mo. *yutuyar* 'third' and *dötöger* 'fourth' (from \**yu* and \**dö* respectively, cf. *yurban* 'three' and *dörben* 'four') with the suffix -\**tuyar*. The form *žitüger* occurs in Written Mongolian and there it means 'the second wife', cf. also Kh. *dzötərχə-* 'to be jealous', *dzötə* 'jealousy'.

The numeral \**žirin* occurs in Middle Mongolian (*Secret History*) as *žirin* in the following constructions:

*orbai soqataj žirin* 'Orbai and Soqatai, two (women)' . . .

*imaji . . . qo'aqčin žirini* 'her and Qo'aqčin, both of them . . .'

*börte-üžin qo'aqčin žirin* 'Börte-Üžin and Qo'aqčin both of them . . .'

*qorižin qatun qu'určin qatun žirin* 'Qorižin qatun and Qu'určin qatun, both of them . . .'

*žirin ökit* 'two daughters'.

It occurs once in connection with the names of two men: *žirin elciten* 'having two messengers' and also in the combination *žirin kcse'üt* 'two divisions'. The latter example testifies to the fact that *žirin* was also used in connection with names of inanimate objects, because in Ancient Mongolian many words designating objects had attributes with feminine endings, e.g., *monyolžin kelen* 'the Mongolian language', *sirayčin numun* 'a yellow bow', etc.

A parallel form was \**žirü(n)* > Manchu *žuru* 'pair', cf. Dag. *džūr* ~ *džūrū* 'pair' (< \**žirü* ~ \**žirügü*), Mong. *džür* 'pair' (e.g., Mong. *fuguor nige džür* 'one pair of oxen').

In Written Mongolian *žiren* occurs, e.g., in the expression *žiren*

*sedkiltü eme* 'a woman having two thoughts', i.e., 'a woman floating between two decisions'. The latter example shows that *žiren* was also used in reference to objects belonging to women.

The stem \**žir* occurs in Mo. *žirmüsün*, Bur. *žirməhəñ*, Urd. *džirmesen* 'pregnant'. It should be remarked that 'pregnant' and 'two' are semantically related, cf. Mo. *dabqur* 'double' and 'pregnant'. As remarked above, the primary root \**ži* is found in Mo. *žitüger* 'the second wife in a bigamous family', cf. Urd. *džötör* 'jealous', Mo. *žitüge* 'competition', Urd. *džötö* 'jealousy'.

In conclusion of the section dealing with the numerals »two« it should be mentioned that the numerals in question are of Common Altaic origin, cf. the following correspondences:

\**qo*, Mo. *qojar* 'two', *qorin* 'twenty', *qoyor* 'between', *qos* 'pair', *qosmalžin* 'belonging to a pair' = Turk. *qaš* 'pair'.

\**ži*, MMo. *žirin* 'two', Mo. *žitüger* 'the second wife' = Tungus *žūr* 'two', Manchu *žuve* 'two'.

181. The numerals »three«, »four«, and »five« are phonetically different from each other, otherwise they are the same in all Mongolian languages. Exceptions are »three« and »four« in Monguor in which the final syllables have developed by analogy to those of the numerals »six« and »seven«.

The numerals »three«, »four«, and »five« are shown below.

	3	4	5
CMo.	* <i>yurban</i>	* <i>dörben</i>	* <i>tabun</i>
Mo.	<i>yurban</i>	<i>dörben</i>	<i>tabun</i>
MMo.			
SH, H	<i>yurban</i>	<i>dörben</i>	<i>tabun</i>
P	<i>qurban</i>	<i>dörben</i>	<i>t'abun</i>
Mu.	<i>qurban</i> ~ <i>yurban</i>	<i>dörben</i>	<i>tabun</i>
Dag.	<i>goarwa(η)</i>	<i>durwə(η)</i>	<i>tāw(η)</i>
Mong.	<i>gurān</i>	<i>diēran</i>	<i>tāwən</i>
Mog.	<i>gurbōn</i>	<i>durbōn</i>	<i>tabun</i>
Urd.	<i>gurwa</i>	<i>dōruō</i>	<i>tawu</i>
Kh.	<i>gurwu(η)</i>	<i>dīruə(η)</i>	<i>tawv(η)</i>

Bur.	<i>gurban</i>	Al.	<i>dürben</i>	<i>taban</i>
		Kh.	<i>durbən</i>	
Kalm.	<i>gorwən</i>		<i>dörwən</i>	<i>tawən</i>

When serving as substantive nouns, these numerals do not have a nasal at the end in Dagur, Urdus, and Khalkha. When serving as syntactical attributes, the numerals in question end in *ŋ* in Dagur and Khalkha, and in Urdus the final vowel becomes nasalized, the numerals concerned being *gurwā* and *dörwō*.

182. The numeral »six» is an old compound and consists of \*žir 'pair, two' and \*yu, the root of the numeral »three» (Mo. *yurban* 'three', *yutuyar* 'the third', *yunan* 'three years old', *yučin* 'thirty', etc.). Common Mongolian had \*žiryuyan, with the suffix -yan found in a few other numerals. This numeral was borrowed by the Manchu-Tungus languages (cf. Ma. *ninγun*, Tungus *n̄uŋguŋun* 'six'). According to the rules of historic phonology \*žiryuyan resulted in \*žiryoyan and the latter became žiryo'an in Middle Mongolian (cf. P žirqo'an). This resulted in \*žiryōn, cf. Al.B žorgōn, Ekh.B jorgōn, Dag. džirgō(ŋ), and Mong. džirgōn 'six'.

In the remaining Mongolian languages the phonetic development is irregular and \*žiryuyan resulted in \*žuryān, cf. Kh. dzurgā(ŋ) 'six'.

Mogol has no original Mongolian numerals higher than »five». The developments of \*žiryuyan are shown below.

CMo.	*žiryuyan
Mo.	žiryuyan
MMo.	
SH	žiryo'an ~ žirwa'an
H	žirwa'an
P	žirqo'an
Mu.	žiryu'an
Dag.	džirgō(ŋ)
Mong.	džirgōn
Urd.	džurgā(n)
Kh.	dzurgā(ŋ)

## Bur.

Khori	<i>zurgān</i>
Alar	<i>žorgōn</i>
Ekhirit	<i>jorgōn</i>
Kalm.	<i>zurgān</i> .

183. The numeral »seven» is derived from the root \**dal* (cf. Mo. *dalan* 'seventy') with the suffix -\**yan* and the connective vowel -*u*. The form in question was \**daluyan*. Under the influence of -\**uyan* the vowel of the initial syllable developed into *o* according to the general rule. The development \**daluyan* > \**doluyan* occurred in Pre-Mongolian, the Common Mongolian form already being \**doluyan*.

Pre-Mongolian	* <i>daluyan</i>
CMo.	* <i>doluyan</i>
Mo.	<i>doluyan</i>
MMo., H, SH	<i>dolo'an</i> ~ Mu. <i>dolān</i>
Dag.	<i>dolō(η)</i>
Mong.	<i>dolōn</i>
Urd.	<i>dolō(n)</i>
Kh.	<i>dolō(η)</i>
Bur.	<i>dolōn</i>
Kalm.	<i>dolān</i> .

184. The numerals »eight» and »nine» are regular developments of \**najiman* 'eight' and \**jesün* < \**fersün* 'nine'.

Mo. *najiman* 'eight', Dag. *najima(η)*, Mong. *nēman*, Kh. *naēmə(η)*, Bur. *naēməη*, Al.B *nāmaη*, Kalm. *nāməη* id.

Mo. *jisün* ~ *jesün* < \**fersün* (cf. *jiren* ~ *jerən* 'ninety'), Dag. *jise(η)*, Mong. *šdzen*, Kh. *jessə(η)*, Bur. *juhən*, Kalm. *jūsŋ* 'nine'.

185. The numeral »ten» was \**parban* in Common Mongolian, cf. Mo. *arban*, MMo. (SH, H, P, Mu.) *harban*, Dag. Tsitsikar *χarwan*, Mong. *χarwan* ~ *χaran*, Shirongol *χarban* ~ *χarwan*, Urd. *arwa*, Kh. *arwə(η)*, Bur. *arbaη*, Kalm. *arwəη* id.

The numerals 11—19 are compound forms and consist of \**parban* 'ten' + the unit concerned. These numerals do not show unusual developments.

186. The numerals 20, 30, 40, etc. are regular developments of the same basic forms shown below.

The numerals 20–50 have the ending *-in*, while 60–90 end in *-an* / *-en*. These endings, i.e., *-in* and *-an* / *-en* are, probably, the remainder of the numeral \**on* = Turkic *on* 'ten'.

The Shirongol dialect in Pounan differs from that spoken in Wuyangpu in that the numeral \*twenty\* is the only surviving Common Mongolian numeral (it is *xorun* 'twenty'), while all the remaining numerals are composed of units and the word for \*ten\*:

- 30: *xubaran* < \**yurban* *xarban*
- 40: *deriran* < \**dörben* *xarban*
- 50: *ta'quran* < \**tabun* *xarban*
- 60: *džirgonran* < \**žiryuyan* *xarban*
- 70: *tolunran* < \**doluyan* *xarban*
- 80: *niqmanran* < \**najman* *xarban*
- 90: *jesunran* < \**jersün* *xarban*

This system is probably due to Turkic influence, cf. Turk. *säk-sän* 'eighty', *toqsan* 'ninety' (from *säkiz* 'eight' + *on* 'ten', *toquz* 'nine' + *on* 'ten' respectively).

	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
CMo.	* <i>qorin</i>	* <i>yučin</i>	* <i>döčin</i>	* <i>tabin</i>	* <i>žiran</i>	* <i>dalan</i>	* <i>najan</i>	* <i>jerēn</i>
Mo.	<i>qorin</i>	<i>yučin</i>	<i>döčin</i>	<i>tabin</i>	<i>žiran</i>	<i>dalan</i>	<i>najan</i>	<i>jerēn</i>
MMo.	<i>qorin</i>	<i>yučin</i>	<i>döčin</i>	<i>tabin</i>	<i>žiran</i>	<i>dalan</i>	<i>najan</i>	<i>jiren</i>
Dag.	<i>xorči(η)</i>	<i>gočši(η)</i>	<i>duičši(η)</i>	<i>täbi(η)</i>	<i>džara(η)</i>	<i>dala(η)</i>	<i>naja(η)</i>	<i>juře(η)</i>
Mong.	<i>xorin</i> ~ <i>xorim</i>	<i>xodžin</i>	<i>tiedžin</i>	<i>tajin</i>	<i>džiran</i>	<i>dalan</i>	<i>najan</i>	<i>jerin</i>
Shirongol (Wuyangpu)	<i>xorin</i>	<i>xotšin</i>	<i>tutšin</i>	<i>tajin</i>	<i>džiren</i>	<i>talan</i>	<i>najan</i>	<i>irin</i>
Shira Y.	<i>xorin</i>	<i>gutšon</i>	<i>duičson</i>	<i>tabin</i>	<i>džiren</i>	<i>talan</i>	<i>najan</i>	<i>iren</i>
Urd.	<i>xori</i>	<i>gutši</i>	<i>döčsi</i>	<i>tawī</i>	<i>džira</i>	<i>dala</i>	<i>naja</i>	<i>jire</i>
Kh.	<i>xori</i>	<i>gutši</i>	<i>döčsi</i>	<i>tawī</i>	<i>džaro</i>	<i>dallv</i>	<i>najiv</i>	<i>jero</i>
Bur.	<i>xorin</i>	<i>gušan</i>	<i>dūšən<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>tabiŋ</i>	<i>žoroŋ<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>dalaŋ</i>	<i>najan</i>	<i>jerēŋ</i>
Kalm.	<i>xörn</i>	<i>gutšn</i>	<i>dötšn</i>	<i>täwŋ</i>	<i>džirŋ<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>dalŋ</i>	<i>najn</i>	<i>jirŋ</i>

<sup>1</sup> Alar — <sup>2</sup> Alar — <sup>3</sup> Khori — <sup>4</sup> Ekhirit — <sup>5</sup> Khori

187. The numerals 'hundred' and 'thousand' are regular developments in all Mongolian languages:

CMo. \*žayun 'hundred', Mo. žayun, MMo. (SH, Mu.) ža'un, Dag. džau, Mong. džiön, Urd. džū, Kh. džū, Bur. zūn, Kalm. zūn id.

CMo. \*miŋyan 'thousand', Mo. miŋyan, MMo. (SH) miŋyan ~ (Mu.) miŋan, Dag. máŋga, Mong. miŋxän, Urd. miŋga, Kh. mánqov, Bur. miŋgan, Kalm. miŋŋid.

### Ordinal Numerals

188. In Common Mongolian the primary stems (roots) of the numerals \*ži 'two', \*γu 'three', \*dö 'four', and \*tab 'five' took the ending -\*tayar ~ -\*tuyar. The primary stems of the numerals 6—7 took the ending -\*duyar. The latter was generalized and taken by all numerals. Besides, at a later time the ending -\*duyar was no longer taken by the primary stems but by the secondary stems enlarged with the suffix -\*ban ~ -\*yan.

The ordinal numerals are shown in the table below.

	CMo.	Mo.	MMo.	Dag.	Mong.
First	*terigün	terigün	(SH) teri'ün	?	turōŋ ~ turōŋ-dareni
Second	—	nigedüger	(H) nikentü'er	?	—
	*ded	ded	?	?	—
	*nöküge	nögüge	(SH) nökö'e	?	—
Third	—	qojaduyar	(H) qojadu'ar	χoirtuyär	gördani ~ gör-dareni
	*žitüger	žitüger	—	—	—
	*yutuyar	yutuyar	(SH) yuta'ar	gutär	gurändareni
Fourth	*döteger	dötöger	(H) dötü'er	duuter	?
Fifth	*tabtayar	tabtayar	(Mu.) tabutär	tauduyär	tawəndareni
Sixth	*žiryuduyar	žiryuduyar	(Mu.) žiryudär	?	?
Seventh	*doluduyar	doluduyar	—	?	?
Eighth	*najimaduyar	najimaduyar	(Mu.) najmandär	?	?
Ninth	*jisüdüger	jisüdüger	(Mu.) jisüdér	?	?
Tenth	*qarbaduyar	arbaduyar	—	?	?

In many language families the numerals »first» and »second» are special words not necessarily numerals by origin, e.g., Latin *unus* "and *primus*, *duo* and *secundus*. These words were \**terigün* 'head, beginning' and \**ded* 'the following, the next one' or \**nöküge* 'the following' in Common Mongolian.

At an early date, by analogy to other 'numerals', \**nikendüger* and \**qojartuyar* ~ *qojarduyar* were used, cf. MMo. (H) *nikentü'er* 'the first' and (H) *qojadu'ar* 'the second'.

Beginning with »six» the ordinal numerals were formed with the suffix -\**duyar*. By analogy such forms were also derived from *yurban* 'three', *dörben* 'four', and *tabun* 'five', the ordinal forms in question being *yurbaduyar*, *dörbedüger*, and *tabuduyar*, the final *n* of the stems still being preserved in Middle Mongolian. In modern Mongolian languages the final *n* has disappeared, e.g., Urd. *gurwadugār*, Kh. *gurwadvgār* 'the third'. In Buriat and Kalmuck the final *n* is also dropped, but the suffix of ordinal numerals is *-daxi* in Buriat and *-dvktši* in Kalmuck. Only in proper names Kalmuck still has the ancient suffix *-tṛ* < -\**tuyar* / -\**tüger*, e.g., *jistṛ* < \**jisütüger* 'the ninth'.

The Monguor equivalent of Buriat *-daxi* is *-daregu* < -\**da* + (*dege*)*reki*. The Monguor ordinal suffixes are not of the same origin as the suffixes in other Mongolian languages. The suffix *-dani* is the ending of the reiterative numerals -\**ta* with the possessive suffix of the third person. In Monguor the suffix *-dare* is a locative form of a form ending in *-da* < -\**ta*.

In Middle Mongolian (in the dictionary *Muqaddimat al-Adab*) ordinal forms ending in *-tu* occur, e.g., *yurbantu* 'the third', *harbantu* 'the tenth', etc. which are shorter than the Written Mongolian forms with the suffix *-tuyar*. The Middle Mongolian suffix (in *Muqaddimat al-Adab*) is the original one and the forms in *-tu* are more ancient than those ending in *-tuyar*. The Written Mongolian forms with the suffix *-tuyar*, e.g., *yutuyar* 'the third', contain the same *-tu*. The element *-yar* in *-tuyar* is an instrumental suffix (cf. Mo. *yayčayar* 'alone'). Thus, Mo. *-tuyar* ~ *-tayyar* < -\**tu* (~ -\**ta*) + *-yar*. The Monguor forms ending in *-dareni* are of a similar origin : *-dareni* < -\**ta* + loc. suff. *-re* + possessive suffix of the third person.

### Other Numeral Forms

189. The iterative (or multiplicative) numerals are formed with the suffix *-\*ta*.

Mo. and MMo. *-ta* / *-te*: MMo. (Mu.) *nikete* 'once, one time', Mo. and MMo. (Mu.) *qojarta* 'twice';

Mong. *-da* : *gōrda* 'twice';

Kh., Bur., etc. *-tv*: Kh. *χojjirtv* 'twice', Bur. *nęgetę* 'once'.

190. The collective numerals are formed with the suffix *-\*γulan* / *-\*gülen*.

CMo. *-\*γulan* / *-\*gülen*

Mo. *-γulan* / *-gülen*

MMo. (SH, Mu.) *-'ula* / *-'üle*

Dag. *-ōlō* < *-\*yulafan* (with the reflexive-possessive suff.)

Mong. *-lo* < *-\*la* with *-\*γu-* lost

Urd. *-ūl*

Kh. *-ūlv*

Bur. *-ūlan*

Kalm. *-ūln* (but *χojūrn* 'two together' by analogy with *χojr* 'two').

191. The distributive numerals are formed with the suffix *-\*yal* / *-\*gel*. The suffix *-\*yal* is preserved in Middle Mongolian and Dagur in the form MMo. (SH) *nizi'el* and Dag. *nedęł* 'by ones', cf. Mong. *nidžiūdur* < *\*niziigel ediir* in the expression 'the one day... the other day'. In Written Mongolian and all the remaining spoken languages the suffix is *-ged* in *niziqed* 'by ones'. This is due to analogy with the forms *qosijayad* 'by twos', *yurbayad* 'by threes', etc. The latter forms are plural forms with the plural suffix *-d* (like Mo. *tüsimeł* 'official' — *tüsimed* 'officials' or Al.B *tugal* 'calf' — *tugad* 'calves'). The plural forms ending in *-\*yad* > *-at* were generalized in Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck.

In modern Mongolian languages the forms in *-\*yad* have become approximative numerals, e.g., Kh. *arwāt* 'about ten, approximately ten'.

In general, most Mongolian languages, e.g., Monguor, Urdus, Khalkha, Buriat, and Kalmuck prefer reduplicated cardinal numeral forms, e.g., Kh. *guruv guruv* 'by threes'.

## Conjugation

### General Remarks

192. Common Mongolian had four different groups of verbal forms which had different syntactic functions:

- A. Vocative forms expressing demands or requests, more or less corresponding to the imperative and optative in Indo-European languages;
- B. Indicative forms serving as predicates of complete sentences;
- C. Verbal nouns expressing the idea of a process of action (e.g., »the walking», i.e., motion) or actor (e.g., »goer» or »writer», i.e., a person) or characteristics of persons or objects (e.g., »walking» as a characteristic of a person, i.e., »one who walks»). These forms served as subjects, complements, attributes, or as predicates, in the latter case having a copula;
- D. Converbs expressing actions modifying or characterizing the main action in a sentence; serving also as circumstantial words indicating the circumstances under which an action takes place, e.g., »while reading», »when reading», etc.

193. The ancient system was destroyed at a later time and great changes occurred in the modern Mongolian languages.

First of all, Common Mongolian did not have special forms for each of the three persons of the singular and plural. Thus, *irebe* meant »came» (I, thou, he, we, you, they). Later on personal pronouns were added enclitically to the verbal forms in order to indicate the person acting. This became a common phenomenon in Middle Mongolian, e.g., *irebe bi* 'I came', *irebe ēi* 'thou camest', *irebe ba* 'we came', etc. The personal pronouns added enclitically lost their independence and became personal endings, e.g., Bur. *jerebəb* 'I came', *jereχəb* 'I shall come', etc.

Although there was no distinction between the persons in the conjugation in Common Mongolian, certain verbal forms occurred, however, in two different variants. One of them referred to male beings, while the other one was used when the actor (and sometimes even the object of the action) was a female being. The distinction between masculine and feminine verbal forms still existed in Middle Mongolian. In the language of the *Secret History* and that of the hP'ags-pa script such forms as ögbe 'gave' (masculine) and ögbü 'gave' (feminine) still occurred.

Many ancient verbal forms disappeared, e.g., the verbal noun in -i, e.g., Mo. *oduž* 'the process of going away' (predicative: 'he goes away').

Certain verbal forms changed their meanings and functions, e.g., the verbal noun in -n which became a converb (*converbum modale*) at an early date. Its plural in -d served as a predicative form in Middle Mongolian but disappeared later on.

In conclusion I should point out that the frequent appearance of the verbal nouns in the role of predicates led to the rise of a series of new indicative forms of nominal origin, which replaced the ancient indicative forms, e.g., Mo. *jabuya* 'one who went and is still going' = Bur. *jabā* 'he went', *jabāb* 'I went', etc.

### Vocative Forms

#### Imperative

194. The imperative of the second person referred originally also to the third person (»do!«, »let him do!«) and expressed a strict demand. This form is the bare stem of the verb concerned, e.g., Mo. *jabu* 'go!', MMo. (Mu.) *setki* 'think!', (H) *ire* 'come!', Dag. *sō* 'sit down!', Mong. *zegilie* 'demand!', Mog. *irā* 'come!', Urd. *ire*, Kh. *irə*, Bur. *jerg*, Kalm. *irə* 'come!'

To express a polite request other forms were created at a later date. The vowel of the final syllable of the stem was lengthened or

a long vowel was added to the stem. This form is called the precative, e.g., Kh. *ögn* 'please give!', Urd. *itsē* 'please go away!'. To this form pronouns of the second person were added enclitically, e.g., Kh. *ögnits* 'please give!' (sing.) and *ögnit* 'please give!' (plural).

In Buriat the vowel of the precative form is *i*, probably by analogy to the voluntative (s. § 197), e.g., Alar *sā ūgit* 'please drink tea!'

The rudeness of the imperative was lessened also by adding of special particles, e.g., Al.B *jerę lā* 'come!', *ošo dā* 'go!', Dag. *sō dę* 'sit down please!', etc.

#### B e n e d i c t i v e

195. The benedictive is a future noun (*nomen futuri*) in origin. The suffix of the future noun was taken by the secondary (passive) stem in *-d-* ~ *-da-*. The suffix of the *nomen futuri* of the singular was *-quj* / *-küj*, that of the plural was *-qun* / *-kün*.

The benedictive form in *-dqun* / *-dkün* was common in pre-classical Written Mongolian. Later on, probably in Middle Mongolian (in the XIV century), a metathesis occurred and *-dqun* / *-dkün* resulted in *-ytun* / *-gtün*.

The singular form *-dquj* (with metathesis) is preserved in Buriat, cf. *-gti*. The meaning of this form is, however, the 2nd person of the plural.

#### (A) S i n g u l a r

CMo. *-\*dquj*, Bur. *-gti* < *-\*ytuij* < *-\*dquj* (it is a plural in meaning), e.g., Bur. *jabagtū* ~ *jabagtuij* 'please go!', Mog. *-tu* (also a plural) < *-\*ytui*, e.g., *irátu* 'come!'

#### (B) P l u r a l

CMo. *-\*dqun*, Mo. (pre-cl.) *-dqun* > Mo. (cl.) *-ytun*, Mog. *-tunā* < *-\*ytun-a* (vide infra), Kalm. *-tŋ* < *-\*ytun*, Kh. *-gtvŋ* ~ *-tvŋ*, Al.B

*-gtaŋ ~ (rarely) -gtiŋ* (contamination of the sing. form *-gti* by plur. *-gtaŋ < \*ytun*), e.g., Mo. *uqadqun* 'understand!', Mo. *unsiytun* 'read!', Mog. *iratuna* 'come!', Kalm. *irtŋ* 'come!', Al.B *jabagtaŋ ~ jabagtŋ* 'go!'

In Mogol the ending is *-tuna < \*ytun-a*. The final *a* is possibly an emphatic element, although it might be the ancient dative ending *-a*, i.e., *iratuna < \*iregtüne < \*iredküne* 'to the arrivals!'. This latter explanation is possible, because the voluntative in *-ja* is a dative in *-a* of the verbal noun in *-i* in all Mongolian languages.

It should be noted that the benedictive does not occur in Monguer, Dagur, and Urdus.

#### Prescriptive

196. The prescriptive expresses a request to perform the action concerned sometime in the future. It is called also the imperative of the future.

The prescriptive suffix is *\*yarai*. It did not occur in Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian. This suffix consists of the Altaic suffix *\*r* of verbal nouns added to the suffix *\*ya-* of the secondary verbal stem. The final *-ai* is a particle, an interjection.

The prescriptive forms are of secondary origin. There was no such form in Common Mongolian or even in Ancient Mongolian.

(a) In Dagur the suffix is *-gānē*. This form is probably a future noun in *\*qu* with the particle *\*ni* and an emphasizing particle (interjection) *\*ai*, i.e., *-gānē < \*qu ni ai*. The length of the vowel *ā* in *-gānē* is due to analogy. Cf. Dag. *onoyānē* 'ride horse back!' < *\*unuqu ni ai*.

(b) In Khalkha and Buriat the prescriptive form has the suffix *\*yarai* > Kh. *-ärvē*, Al.B *-ärā* (2. p.s.), *-ärāt* or *-ärägti* (2. p.pl.). The latter form has appeared by analogy < *-ärā × -gti* (of the benedictive). Ol'khon Buriat has a form of the 3d person in *-äräk* by analogy with the concessive in *-k*.

### V o l u n t a t i v e

197. The voluntative expresses the desire of the first person to perform an action (»let me do!«, »let us do!«). In classical Written Mongolian it refers only to the first person of the plural, but colloquially it refers to the singular and plural.

The Written Mongolian suffix is *-ja*, usually spelled as *-j-a*, i.e., with *a* written separately.

This form is a dative in *-a* of the verbal noun in *\*i*, e.g., *odui* 'going', *odui-a* or *oduj-a* 'let us go!' (originally 'towards the going!').

MMo. (SH) has *-ja*, e.g., *čimaji qan bolyaja* 'let us proclaim you khan!'.<sup>1</sup>

Dagur has the suffix *-jā* which does not comply with the rules of vocalic harmony, e.g., *wukjā* 'let me give!'. It is only *-ja* also in Monguor, e.g., *awuja* 'I want to take!', *šdžija* 'we shall come!', etc.

The suffix is *-ja* in Mogol. The pronouns of the first person of the singular and plural are added enclitically, e.g. *irajāwi* < *\*ireje bi* 'let me come!', *irajāw* < *\*ireje ba* 'let us come!'.<sup>2</sup>

The voluntative suffix is *-ij ~ -ijε ~ -i* in Kalmuck, *-j ~ -jā* in Urdus, and *-jā ~ -ji ~ -i ~ -ij* in Khalkha. In these languages no personal endings are taken by the voluntative forms, but in Buriat personal pronouns are added enclitically, e.g., Al.B *jabajibdi* 'let us go!', although the voluntative occurs there also with no personal endings, e.g., Al.B *jabajī* 'let us go!', Ts.B *udziji* 'let us see!'.<sup>3</sup>

Urdus has another form of the first person of the singular. The ending is *-jan* or *-jin* with a final *n* which is a short form of the particle of uncertainty *ni*, cf. Ts.B *jawaxan* < *\*jabugu ni* 'he will probably go'.

### O p t a t i v e

198. There is another form expressing the desire of the first person to perform an action. This form is called the optative by RAMSTEDT. Its suffix was *\*su / \*sü* in Common Mongolian, e.g., *\*orasu* 'let me enter!', *\*ögsü* 'let me give!', etc.

In classical Written Mongolian this suffix occurs with the secondary element *-yaj* / *-gej* which is also found in the form of the third person in *-tuyaⱫ* (< *\*-tu-yaj*), e.g., *uŋs̥tuyaⱫ* 'let him read!'. Examples of the first person are *uŋsisuyaⱫ* 'let me read!', *ögsügej* 'let me give!', *iressügej* 'let me come!', etc.

In the most conservative colloquial Mongolian languages the suffix is *\*su*, i.e., with no secondary element *\*yaj*, e.g., Mog. *-sūn* ~ *-sūna* ~ *-āsun* in which the final element *n* ~ *na* (in *-sūn*) is due to analogy with the benedictive (in *-tuna*). As for the long *ā* in the suffix *-āsun* in Mogol it belongs to the secondary verbal stem, i.e., *irāsun* < *\*ire-ge-sū* (+ *na* by analogy with *iratnā* 'come!').

In Dagur the optative form is not found. In Monguor there is a special imperative form in *-sā*, e.g., *idiesā* 'eat, I implore you!' which has developed from a form with the suffix *\*suyaⱫ*, i.e., with the secondary element *\*yaj*.

In Kalmuck the optative of the 1st person has the ending *-sūw* < *\*su bi* (singular) and *-sūwdŋ* < *\*su bida* (plural) with personal pronouns added enclitically. The same is found in Buriat in which the endings are *-hūb* and *-hūbdi*. This optative of the first person does not occur in Urdus or Khalkha.

199. Only few Mongolian languages have the optative form with the ancient suffix *\*su*. Most languages have forms which go back to the suffix *\*su* augmented by the secondary element *\*yaj*.

This augmented suffix is *-sā* < *\*suyaⱫ* in Kalmuck. In Buriat this suffix is *-hā* with personal pronouns added enclitically:

<i>-hāp</i> < <i>*suyaⱫ bi</i>	<i>-hābdi</i> < <i>*suyaⱫ bida</i>
<i>-hāš</i> < <i>*suyaⱫ či</i>	<i>-hāt</i> < <i>*suyaⱫ ta</i>
<i>-hā</i> < <i>*suyaⱫ</i>	

In Middle Mongolian (*Muqaddimat al-Adab*), in Urdus, and Khalkha this form occurs with no personal endings (i.e., with no personal pronouns added). The suffix *\*saⱫ* < *\*suyaⱫ* is always added to the secondary stem in *\*ya-* but never to the primary stem. The suffix, consequently, is *\*yasuyaⱫ* > *\*yasaⱫ* > Mko. (Mu.) *-āsā*, e.g., *uŋši'āsā* 'if they read!', Urd. *-āsā*, Kh. *-āsə̄*.

In conclusion it should be remarked that the primary suffix *\*su*

referred in pre-classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian (e.g., *Secret History*) to the first person singular and plural, while in classical Mongolian it refers only to the first person singular. In the language of the Secret History it occurs always with the pronoun *bi* or *ba*, but it is never followed by *bida*. Thus it looks as if it occurred only with the exclusive pronoun, while the voluntative in *-ja* occurs there only with *bida*. On the other hand, the Mogol voluntative form is *-jaw* < *-\*ja ba*, i.e., the personal pronoun is exclusive there. Thus, it looks as if no common pattern had existed and the constructions in question appeared more or less independently. May I also point out that in Dagur the first person of the plural in any tense is always an exclusive pronoun of the first person. Cf. § 243.

#### C o n c e s s i v e

200. Written Mongolian has the suffix *-tuyač*. This form is also called the imperative of the third person. The suffix in question consists of the element *-tu* which is the most important part of the suffix, while the element *-yač* is a secondary addition found also in the optative suffix *-suyač*. The suffix *-tuyač* occurs in Middle Mongolian, e.g., in P *-t'ugaji* in *abt'ugaji* 'let them take!', *bol'tugaji* 'let it be!'; Mu. *-tuyač* / *-tügeč* in *sagituyač* 'let him protect!', *öktügeč* 'let him give!', etc.

The suffix *-\*tuyač* occurs in Dagur as *-tχač* / *-tχeč*, Kalmuck has *-tχāč* / *-tkeč*, Urdus has *-tugāč* / *-tuğāč*. It does not occur in Khalkha except in expressions borrowed from Written Mongolian such as *mandvχv boltuq'ē* 'long live!' (literally 'let him rise!').

This suffix occurs in the dialect of the Ol'khon Buriats in which it is *-tagāč* < *-\*tuyač* + *-k* < *-\*gi*. The latter (i.e., *-gi*) is another concessive suffix which will be discussed below. In other words, it is a double concessive form.

201. There is another concessive form with the ancient suffix *-\*gi* < *-\*γi* / *-\*gi* ~ *-g*. No such form occurs in Written Mongolian or in Middle Mongolian. It occurs, however, in Mogol (suff. *-ge*) and

in Monguor. In the latter it is found in the compound suffix *-ragi* < *\*ragi* the element *ra* of which is the ancient suffix of the prescriptive (vide § 196), e.g., *giragi* < *\*kigereigi* 'let him do!', *dāraragi* < *\*dayarayařagi* 'let him shiver with cold!'. A similar form is Ol'khon Buriat *-ārđk* (vide § 196).

In Urdus the suffix *-ga'* / *-ge*, in Khalkha and Buriat *-g* / *-g* ( $\sim -k$  / *-k*)  $\sim$  Kh. *-g̣* ( $\sim -gā$   $\sim -gē$ ) is found. Kalmuck has *-k*.

#### D u b i t a t i v e

202. The dubitative expresses the concern about an action which may occur contrary to all expectations and cause inconvenience (»but suppose he does something!»).

The suffix is *-\*yuži* / *-\*gūži* or *-\*yužai* / *-\*gūžei* in Common Mongolian. Written Mongolian has *-yužai* / *-gūžei*. It is found in Middle Mongolian as *-užai* (H).

The same dubitative suffix is found in Urdus (*-udžā* < *-\*yužai*, *-udžin* < *-\*yuži* with the particle of doubt *\*ni*).

Its equivalent in Kalmuck is *-uzā* / *-uzε*, in Khalkha *-udzə̄* (relatively rare).

Buriat has only *-\*yuži* which has resulted in *-uži* to which personal endings are added: *-užib* < *-\*yuži bi*, *-užiš* < *-\*yuži ci*, etc. Its meaning is different in Buriat in which this form has become an indefinite future (»sometime I shall probably do»).

The suffixes *-\*yužai* and *-\*yuži* have developed from the suffix of the deverbal noun *-\*yu* / *-\*gū* to which the particle *ža* or *žai* of uncertainty has been added. The suffix *-\*yu* is found in Mo. *soytayu* 'drunk, intoxicated', *qatayu* 'hard', etc. The particle *ža* or *žai* is found in Mo. *bolumuž ža* 'he will be probably', cf. MMo. (SH) *že*, Kalm. *zā* / *ze*, Al.B *zā* 'well, all right'. Thus Mo. *iregūžei* originally meant 'the possible arrival' > 'suppose he arrives nevertheless'. Another dubitative form is that in *-gūn* in Urdus in which *n* is the particle of doubt and *-gū* = Mo. *-yu* in *soytayu* 'intoxicated', cf. Urd. *sogto-gūn getše* 'be careful, do not become intoxicated!'.

Another dubitative form in Urdus is the past tense in *-wa* with the particle *džā*, e.g., *unawadžā* 'be careful, do not fall down!', cf. Kalm. *-užā*; Al.B past tense, e.g., Al.B *unabaš* 'be careful, you might fall down!' < \**unaba či* 'you have fallen down'.

203. The conclusions reached in the discussion of the vocative forms will be summarized below.

The vocative forms can be classified into two main groups: original vocative forms and those which have developed from verbal nouns.

The first group comprises the imperative, optative, and concessive.

The second group comprises the benedictive, prescriptive, voluntative, and dubitative.

The imperative has no suffix (or it has a zero-suffix) and it is the same in CMo., Mo., MMo., Mong., Dag., Mog., Urd., Kh., Bur., and Kalm.

The primary optative suffix was *\*su* in CMo. It occurs as such in pre-classical Mo., MMo., Mog. (*-sūn* ~ *-sūnā*), Bur. (*-hūb* ~ *-hūm*, *-hūbdi*, i.e., with personal endings), and in Kalm. (also with personal endings, i.e., *-sūw* and *-sūwdy*). The suffix *\*su* occurs with the primary or secondary verbal stem in Mog. (cf. *-āsun* where *-ā-* < *\*γa-*).

The augmented optative suffix is *\*suyač*. This has been generalized in Written Mongolian and is the only optative suffix in classical Written Mongolian. The suffix *\*suyač* occurs in Mong. (*-sā*), Bur. (*-hā* + personal endings), and in Kalmuck (*-sā*). In Middle Mongolian, Khalkha, and in Urdus the suffix is taken by the secondary verbal stem in *\*γa-* the optative suffix being *-āsā* in MMo., *-āsā* in Urd., and Kh. *-āsə̄e*.

The primary concessive suffix was *\*tu*, but in this form it has not survived. It occurs only with the element *\*yai*, i.e., the suffix is

The other concessive suffix is *\*γi* / *\*gi*. It occurs alone in Mog. as *-gε*, Urd. *-γa*, Kh. *-g*, Bur. *-g*, and Kalm. *-g* / *-k*. In Mong. it has been added to the suffix of the prescriptive (in *-ragi*). A similar form is Ol'khon Buriat *-äräč*.

The benedictive is a *nomen futuri* of the passive stem, i.e., a form in *\*quj* (plural *\*qun*) added to the passive stem in *\*d-*. Thus the suffix was *\*dquj* (plural *\*dqun*) in CMo. The singular form (with metathesis) is found in Buriat (cf. *-gti* < *\*ytui* < *\*dquj*). Its meaning is that of a plural, however. In pre-classical Mo. and in MMo. the suffix *dqun* still existed (but not *-dquj!*). In classical Mo. the suffix was already *-ytun* (metathesis). The suffix *\*ytun* (i.e., with metathesis) is the basis of the benedictive suffixes in Dag. (*-ta*), Mog. (*-tu* or *-tuna*), Kh. (*-gtvñ* or *-tvñ*), and Kalm. (*-ty*). The original plural form is also found in Alar Buriat (*-gtan* or *-gtin*). Monguor does not have this form and uses, instead, the imperative with *sā* following it.

The prescriptive is the ancient verbal noun in *\*r* taken by the secondary verbal stem in *\*ya-* and followed by a secondary element *\*ai*. Thus the suffix in question is *\*yarač*. It is found only in Khalkha (*-ärvē*) and Buriat (*-ärä*, *-ärät*, also *-ärägti*, and *-äräk*). We find it also in Monguor in the suffix of the concessive (*-ragi*).

Dagur uses another form in *-gāne*, i.e., the suffix of the future noun *\*qu* with the particle *\*ni*.

The voluntative is a dative in *-a* of the verbal noun in *-i*: CMo. *\*ja*, Mo., MMo., Mong. *-ja*, Mog. *-ja* (+ personal endings), Dag. *-jā*, Urd. *-j ~ -jā*, Kh. *-jā ~ -ji ~ -ij ~ -i*, Bur. *-ji* (+ personal endings), Kalm. *-ij ~ -ijε ~ -i*.

The dubitative is in origin a verbal noun in *\*yu* to which the particle *\*žai* has been added, cf. CMo. *\*yužai* ~ *\*yuži*, Mo. *-yužai*, MMo. *-užai*, Mong. *-qužia*, Urd. *-udžā* ~ *-udžin*, Kh. *-udžvē*, Bur. *-ūži* (+ personal endings, in meaning a future), Kalm. *-ūžā*.

### Indicative Forms

204. Written Mongolian and the languages spoken presently have several indicative forms which serve as predicates of complete sentences, e.g., Mo. *jabuba* 'he went'.

Most of the indicative forms have developed from verbal nouns. In other words, such predicates are in origin predicate nouns with a zero copula.

In Ancient Mongolian some forms occurred in two variants. One of them referred to male beings, while the other one was used in reference to female beings. This may be another proof that the forms in question are nouns in origin.

It is impossible to reconstruct the original meaning of the nouns from which the indicative forms have developed, because the forms in question already were indicative forms in Common Mongolian. In Common Altaic they were nouns, however, but nouns with various meanings.

#### Praesens imperfecti I

205. This form is a present and future tense. Originally it was a verbal noun. Its suffix was  $-*m$  in Common Altaic, e.g., Turkic *ölüm* 'death' (*öl-* 'to die'), Mo. *nayadum* 'play, game' (*nayad-* 'to play'), Mo. *barim* 'the grip' (*bari-* 'to seize'), etc.

In Common Mongolian, Ancient Mongolian, pre-classical Written Mongolian, and Middle Mongolian forms in  $-m$  served as predicates of complete sentences. They were common in the XIII—XIV century and occurred in such documents as the *Secret History*, *Hua-i i-yü*, and *Muqaddimat al-Adab*. This form still occurs in Mongolian, e.g., *tši mudäm* 'thou knowest', *tši fugum* 'thou wouldest die'.

In Khalkha the suffix  $-m$  occurs only as the mark of the so-called potential (suffix *-mdzv*) which is found also in Kalmuck (*-mzä*)  $< -*m$  + particle of uncertainty  $*ža$  or  $*žai$ .

The suffix  $-*m$  is also found in the Written Mongolian suffix *-nam* (praesens imperfecti). The latter is a compound suffix consisting of  $-*n$  (a verbal noun, presently *converbum modale*) and *am*, the extinct present tense of the verb *a-* 'to be', e.g., Mo. *jabunam*  $< *jabun *am* 'is going'.$

The suffix *-nam* occurs also in Mogol. There it occurs in addition to the other form in  $-*n$  (e.g., *irän-tši* 'you come'), cf. Mog. *iränäm bi*  $< *iren *am bi* 'I come', *iränämda*  $< *iren *am bida* 'we come', *iränantši*  $< *iren *am ěi* 'thou comest', *iränanto*  $< *iren *am ta* 'you come'.$$$$

The form in  $-m$  followed by the form *geküle* (converbum successi-

vum of the verb *ge-* 'to speak, to talk') serves as *converbum successivum* ('as soon as . . .'), e.g., *üžem geküle* 'as soon as he saw' (literally: 'as soon as he said to himself »I look»).

206. The form in *-m* is little used as a present-future form in Written Mongolian. There another form is common. The suffix is *-muč* in classical Written Mongolian. It is a further development of the same suffix *\*m*. The final *uč* is probably due to analogy with predicative forms such as *ajisuci* 'he approaches', *oduč* 'he goes away', *buci* 'is', etc.

There is no form in *-muč* in spoken Mongolian languages.

207. A vocalized form of the suffix *\*m*, i.e., *\*ma* occurred in Common Altaic in numerous derivatives, e.g., Turk. *čalma* 'sling, turban' (from *čal-* 'to wind around'), Tungus *girkuma* 'pedestrian' (*girku-* 'to walk'), etc. At the present time *-ma* occurs in Mongolian as a suffix of the so called *Nomen descriptionis*, e.g., Kh. *gäexvmo* 'astonishing' (from *gäexv-* 'to be astonished'), Urd. *andūrama* 'misleading' (from *andūra-* 'to err'), etc.

In Middle Mongolian and in some spoken languages forms in *-ma* still serve as substantive nouns, e.g., Mu. *dagma* 'menses' from *daga-* 'to follow', Mong. *gurma* 'plaited hair' from *guru-* 'to plait', etc.

The instrumental case of the noun in *-m* is what is called *Nomen agendi*, e.g., Kh. *iddəmər* 'edible, something which might be eaten'.

### P r a e s e n s   I m p e r f e c t i   I I

208. This form is common in all spoken Mongolian languages. The primary suffix is *\*n*. It still occurs in numerous deverbal nouns in Written Mongolian, e.g., Mo. *singen* 'liquid, fluid' (from *singe-* 'to be absorbed'). This deverbal noun existed in Common Altaic, e.g., Turk. *bütün* 'complete' (from *büt-* 'to end, to be completed'), aqin 'current' (from *aq-* 'to flow'); Korean (perfect participle) *-n* in *pon* 'seen' (from *poda* 'to see'), *san* 'bought' (from *sa-* 'to buy'), etc.

At the present time *\*n* is the suffix of the so called *converbum modale* in Mongolian. It will be discussed below (vide § 230).

The vocalized form of the suffix *-n*, i.e., *\*na* or *\*n* with the se-

secondary element \**ač* has become the suffix of the present tense. The suffix in question is -\**na* or -\**naič*. The relation of -\**na* to -\**n* is the same as that of -\**ma* to -\**m* (vide § 207).

Written Mongolian does not have the suffix -\**na* or -\**naič* but it has -*nam* < -\**n* + *am* (vide § 205). The suffix -\**na* (or -\**naič*) does not occur in Middle Mongolian either.

Monguor has -*na* ~ -*ni*, e.g., *garina* ~ *garini* 'he walks out'. Dagur has -*n* < -\**na*, e.g., *ul sardirin* 'he does not become old', *medem-bi* < \**medene-bi* 'I know', *ul medem-bā* < \**ülü medene ba* 'we do not know', etc.

In Urdus the suffix is -*n* ~ -*nā* (-*nē*, -*nō*), in Khalkha -*n* ~ -*nā* (-*nē*, -*nā*, -*nō*, -*nō*).

Buriat has -*na* (-*ne*, -*no*, etc.) + personal endings, i.e., -*nab*, -*naš*, -*na*, -*nabdi*, -*nat*, -*na(t)*.

Kalmuck has -*nā* ~ -*nā* (-*nε*) with personal endings.

209. As remarked above the primary suffix -\**n* occurs only as an ending of the *converbum modale*, e.g., Mo. *unsin* 'reading', MMo. (Mu.) *üžen* 'seeing', Mong. *dāran dāran* 'freezing' (it is always reduplicated), Dag. (> -*ŋ*) *ul sonson* 'not listening', Urd. (-*n*) *meden* 'knowing, knowingly', Kh. and Bur. (> -*ŋ*) *än* 'drinking', etc.

The former nominal character of this form is apparent in Buriat where the *converbum modale* (suff. -*ŋ*) has the negative \**ügeč* taken by nouns, e.g., Bur. *χaran ugi* 'not looking'. The nominal character of the form in -\**n* can be traced in Middle Mongolian, e.g., (H) *gürün üdü'üje* 'while he had not arrived' ('prior to his arrival').

In Middle Mongolian (SH and P) the plural of this form ended in -*d* in the same manner as nouns in -*n* drop the latter and take -*d*. The plural form served as a predicate in Middle Mongolian, e.g., (SH) *jabud tede* 'they go', (P) *bida uqad že* 'we certainly shall know', etc.

In Mogol the form in -\**n* is still used as a predicate of a complete sentence, e.g., *irāmbi* < \**irenbi* 'I come', *irāntši* < \**iran či* 'thou comest', *irāmda* < \**irem bida* < \**iren bida* 'we come', etc.

At the present time forms in -\**n* with no additional elements or a copula do not serve as predicates of complete sentences in most Mongolian languages.

## Praesens Imperfecti III

210. The suffix of this present form is *-ju* in Written Mongolian. The form in *-ju* is a categorical present tense serving as a predicate in conclusions, strict affirmations, and in categorical statements, e.g., Mo. *uqaju* 'he understands', *boluju* 'of course, it becomes', etc.

This form was very usual in pre-classical Written Mongolian and occurred frequently in Middle Mongolian, e.g., MMo. (H) *eželejü* 'he governs', *medejü* 'he knows', (SH) *buju* 'is', *nerejidüjü že či* 'thou wilt name', etc.

When referring to female beings this form ended in *-ji* in the *Secret History*, e.g., *oki qatu oluji že či* 'thou wilt certainly find girls and women'.

211. The present tense in *-ju* is a form ending in *-i* to which a predicative element *u* is added. The primary suffix *-\*i* still occurs in a few forms of verbal nouns, e.g., Mo. *ajisuč* 'approaching' (as a predicate 'he approaches'), *oduč* 'going away' ('he goes away'), *buc* 'existence, existing' ('is'), *boluc* 'he is, he becomes', etc. The verb *bol-* occurs also in the form *bolač* 'he is'. In pre-classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian more forms ending in *-i* occurred as predicates, e.g., Mo. *kemegdeč* 'it is said'.

Other petrified forms in *-i* are Mo. *yaruč* 'exceeding', *daruč* (Kh. *daruči*) 'immediately' (from *daru-* 'to press'), Mo. *bayurac* 'weak, backward, underdeveloped' (from *bayura-* 'to become weak, to be in a state of decay, to go down'), etc.

The dative of the verbal noun in *-\*i* has become the voluntative (in *-ja*), e.g., Mo. *jabuja* 'let us go!' (< 'towards the going').

In spoken Mongolian languages this verbal noun plays no role in the conjugation, although petrified forms of this noun still occur, e.g., Kh. *muruči* 'bent, curved', Bur. *balā* < *balac* 'blind', etc.

The verbal noun in *-\*i* occurred in Common Altaic, cf. Turk. *qaršı* 'obstacle, against' (from *qariş-* 'to resist'), *qonşu* ~ *qonşı* 'neighbour' (from *qoniş-* 'to spend nights together'), Tungus *suli* 'sharp, sharpened' (from *sul-* 'to sharpen' e.g., a pencil), *degč* 'bird' (from *deg-* 'to fly'), Korean *nophi* 'height' (from *noph-* 'to be high'), etc.

### Praesens Perfecti

212. This form occurs with the suffix *-luya* / *-läge* in Written Mongolian and denotes an action witnessed or otherwise known of and, therefore, raising no doubt.

In the preclassical Written Mongolian language the suffix was *-luyaq* / *-lägeq* or (sometimes) *-layaq* / *-legeq*. This ancient form has become *-lä* in some spoken Mongolian languages.

In Middle Mongolian, particularly in the language of the *Secret History*, the suffix is *-la'a* ~ *-lu'a*, e.g., *büle'e* 'was', *abula'a* 'took', *ajisulu'a* 'came', etc. In *Hua-i i-yü* it was *-lü'e* ~ *-le'e* on stems with front vowels.

The suffix *-luya* ~ *-luyaq* has developed from the primary suffix *-l* of verbal nouns, e.g., Mo. *ükü'l* 'death' (from *ükü-* 'to die'), *tanil* 'acquaintance, friend' (from *tani-* 'to know'), etc. The element *\*yai* is a predicative mark and *-u-* is a connective vowel.

213. This present tense already existed in Common Mongolian and there it had the suffix *\*luyaq* which still occurred in pre-classical Written Mongolian. In classical Written Mongolian the suffix is *-luya*.

This form does not occur in Monguor. In Dagur the suffix is *-li*, e.g., *söli-bi* 'I sat', *söli-bä* 'we sat', *udžili-bi* 'I saw', etc. The suffix *li-* has resulted from *-li* ~ *-lē* < *\*lai* < *\*luyaq*.

Mogol has the suffix *-lä*, e.g., *irälä-bi* 'I came', *irälä-tši* 'thou camest', etc.

Urdus and Khalkha have the suffix *-lä* / *-lē*. In Buriat this form occurs only in shamanist and old epic poetry, e.g., *jabaläb* 'I went', *xaraläb* 'I saw', etc.

In Kalmuck this form is the most usual past tense, e.g., *jowläw* 'I went', *irlewdn* 'we came'.

### Praeteritum Imperfeci

214. The primary suffix of this form is *\*ži* (< *\*di* / *\*di*) ~ *\*žu*. This suffix forms in Written Mongolian the imperfective converb (vide § 232). As an ending of an indicative form it occurs in the

spoken languages, cf. Urd. *-dži* (*-tši*) and Kh. *-dži* / *-tši*. It is possible, however, that the colloquial suffixes are a result of the shortening of the other suffix, i.e., *\*žiyaj* > Kh. *-džā* ~ *-tšā*.

The suffix of the praeteritum imperfecti was *-žuyu(j)* / *-žügü(j)* in pre-classical Written Mongolian. In this form it referred to male beings, but when it referred to female persons it was *\*žiyi* / *\*žigi*, e.g., *ögčigi* 'gave' (to a woman), *ažigi* 'she was', etc.

At a later time the distinction between the masculine and feminine forms was lost. In classical Written Mongolian the suffix changed and became *-žuqu(j)* / *-žükü(j)*. The only verb still having the suffix *-žuyu(j)* is *a-* 'to be', the form in question being *ažuyu* 'was'.

215. In spoken Mongolian languages this past tense occurs with the following suffixes:

Mong. *-džia*, with the predicative element *a* (probably <*\*ya(j)-dži*, cf. *olidžia* 'he became', *budžia* 'he descended' (but also *sanadži* 'he thought').

The Middle Mongolian form *-ži'aj* <*\*žiyaj* is the basis of the Mogol suffix *-džε* <*\*ža(j)* <*\*žiyaj*, e.g., *iradžε* 'he came', *iradžεmbi* 'I came', etc.

Khalkha has *-džā* / *-tšā*, Kalmuck has *-džε*.

In conclusion it should be remarked that *\*di* is a Common Altaic suffix, cf. Turk. *-d-* of the past tense, e.g., *al-d-i-m* 'I took'.

#### P r a e t e r i t u m P e r f e c t i

216. The perfective past tense was formed with the suffix *\*ba* / *\*be* in Common Mongolian. In the Written Mongolian language the suffix is *-ba* / *-be* or *-ba(j)* / *-be(j)*. The latter, i.e., *-ba(j)* is an emphatic form. Pre-classical Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian had a feminine form with the suffix *-bi*.

Dagur has *-be* or *-wε*, *-be(j)* or *-wε(j)*, but the meaning is that of the future, e.g., *orsobelj-bi* 'I shall float', *kurbelj-si* 'thou wilt arrive', *zagareε* 'it will be torn', *dasawelj-bā* 'we shall repair', etc. The semantical development of the past into a future tense is known in Mongolian. In Buriat the past tense is used as a form of warning, e.g.,

*unabaš* 'thou wilt fall down', cf. also Urdus *noχñgår notšūlba getšē* 'beware of being bitten by dogs!' (literally: »thou hast been bitten by dogs, be careful!«), cf. also Kalmuck *irwzā* < \**irebe žai* 'he might, nevertheless, come'.

Mogol has the suffix *-ba* ~ *-fa* ~ *-pa* which takes personal endings: 1st p.s. *-babı* or *-böu*, 1st p.pl. *-babda* or *-böu*, 2nd p.s. *-batši*, 2nd p.pl. *-bato*.

Urdus has *-w* (*-b* ~ *-p*) or *-wu* (*-bu*) or *-wā* (*-bā*). The corresponding suffixes are Kh. *-w* ~ *-wp* ~ *-wā*, Bur. *-ba* / *-bę*, and Kalm. *-w* ~ *-wā* ~ *-wā*.

The Common Mongolian suffix *\*ba(i)* and the ancient feminine ending *-bi* have resulted from Common Altaic *\*ba* / *\*bi*, cf. Turk. *-p* (ancient *-pan*) of the perfective gerund, Manchu *-fi* of the converb. The primary, unvocalized suffix is *\*b* which is still found in Mongolian deverbal nouns, e.g., Mo. *tölüb* 'form', *tösüb* 'plan', etc.

#### S u m m a r y

217. The most ancient Mongolian indicative forms which may be called primary forms are verbal nouns in origin. We shall see further that even these forms later on were replaced by other verbal nouns which served only as verbal nouns in Written Mongolian or in Middle Mongolian.

CAlt. *-\*m*, CMo. *-\*m*: as a present tense rare in Mo., occurred in MMo., serves as suffix of verbal nouns in Mo., serves as suffix of the present tense in Monguor, occurs in the potential in Khalkha (*-mdzv*) and Kalmuck (*-mzā*).

It is found as an element constituting the suffix *-nam* (*-n + am* from *a-* 'to be') in Mo. and (with personal endings) in Mogol.

With the secondary element *-ui* it occurs as a suffix of the praesens imperfecti in Mo. and MMo.

CAlt. *-\*n*, CMo. *-\*n*: MMo. *-n* (pl. *-d*) as an indicative form, Mo. (pre-cl.) *-n* (pl. *-d*) also as an indicative form, but only as a verbal noun or converb in cl. Mo. This form does not have a plural in Mon-

golian languages spoken presently. In all of them petrified verbal nouns with *-n* > *-ŋ* occur, but in all languages (Mo., Mong., Dag., Mog., Urd., Kh., Bur., and Kalm.) *-n* > *-ŋ* is also a converb ending.

The suff. *-\*n* is found in Mo. *-nam* of the present tense. The same suffix, but with a secondary element, is found in the most usual suffix of the present tense in the spoken languages: Mong. *-na* ~ *-ni*, Dag. *-na* ~ *-n* (with personal endings), Urd. *-nā* ~ *-nā* ~ *-n*, Kh. *-nv* ~ *-nā*, Bur. *-na* (with personal endings), and Kalm. *-nā* / *-nā* (with pers. end.).

CAlt. *-\*i*, CMo. *-\*i*: in Mo. only a few verbs have a present tense in *-i*. Most forms are petrified verbal nouns. The same is found in Middle Mongolian. No present tense in *-\*i* is found in spoken Mongolian.

An augmented form of the suffix *-\*i* is Mo. *-ju*, pre-cl. Mo. and MMo. *-ju* (masc.) and *-ji* (femin.). This secondary suffix occurs in classical and modern Written Mongolian as an ending of one of the present tense forms. It does not occur, however, in spoken Mongolian.

CAlt. *-\*l*, CMo. *-\*l* and CMo. *-\*luya(i)*: the primary suffix *-l* is found in many verbal nouns in all Mongolian languages. The secondary suffix *-\*luya(i)* forms the *praesens perfecti*: in Mo. *-luya*, pre-cl. Mo. *-luyač* ~ *-layač*, MMo. *-lu'a* ~ *-la'a*, Dag. *-li* (with pers. end.), Mog. *-lá*, Urd. *-lā*, Kh. *-lá*, Bur. *-lā* (with pers. end.), Kalm. *-lā* (with pers. end.).

CAlt. *-\*d*, CMo. *-\*ži*: with the secondary element *-\*γai* or *-\*γu(i)* praet. imp. in pre-cl. Mo., fem. form *-žigi*, MMo. *-ži'ai* ~ *-žu'u*, cl. Mo. *-žuquč*, Mong. *-džia* < *-\*žiyai*, Mog. *-dže*, Urd. *-dži* / *-tsi*, Kh. *-džā* < *-\*žiyai*, Kalm. *-dži* ~ *-džā* id. Without *-\*γai* or *-\*γu(i)* a suffix of the conv. imperfecti (vide infra).

CAlt. *-\*b*, *-\*ba* / *-\*bi*, CMo. *-ba* or *-bač* (masc.) and *-bi* (femin.), Mo. *-ba* / *-bač*, MMo. *-ba* / *-bač* and *-bi* (femin.), Mong. *-wa*, Dag. *-bε* ~ *-wεč* (a future tense.), Mog. *-ba* ~ *-fa* ~ *-pa* (with person. endings), Urd. *-w* ~ *-wā* ~ *-wāč*, Kh. *-w* ~ *-wā* ~ *-wāč*, Bur. *-ba* (with person. end.), Kalm. *-w* ~ *-wā* ~ *-wāč* (with personal endings).

### Verbal Nouns

218. We have seen that the so called indicative forms are verbal nouns in origin. However, a number of verbal nouns have been preserved as such.

The verbal nouns (*nomina verbalia*) serve as subjects, objects (complements), attributes, and predicates. Their functions are much more numerous than those of the participles in the Indo-European languages. The verbal nouns take a copula and in this case they serve as indicative forms or, to be exact, as predicates of complete sentences. The copula can be omitted and in this case a verbal noun alone serves as a predicate of a complete sentence. It will be demonstrated below that new forms, both indicative and converbal forms, have developed from verbal nouns. In general, some Mongolian languages prefer, in the role of finite forms, verbal nouns to the primary indicative forms discussed in the preceding sections.

### Nomen Futuri

219. The so-called nomen futuri has the suffix *\*quj*, its plural ending in *\*qun*. In pre-classical Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian (SH, H, P, Mu.) such forms are frequent. In classical Written Mongolian the plural form in *-qun* was lost and the singular form split into two forms: when used as a substantive noun this form has now the ending *-quj*, but as an adjective it has the suffix *-qu*, i.e., Mo. *žiryaquj* 'happiness, the process of being happy' but *žiryaqu* 'being happy, rejoicing, happy'. The suffix *\*quj* originally referred to females, while *\*qu* was a masculine form.

The suffix *\*quj* has developed into *-gui* in Monguor. There it serves as a predicate. The other suffix *\*qu* has resulted in *-gu*. Monguor has also a particular form ending in *-guna* which probably goes back to *\*qun* with an element *\*a*.

Dagur has *-yu / -guu* or *-γ / -g < \*qu* and *-yuj < \*quj*, e.g., *tarzayuj* 'the beating'.

In Mogol both *-qu / -kuu* and *-quj / -kuj* occur.

Urdus has only the form with the suffix *\*qu > -χu / -χuu ~ -χa*,

etc., while the suffix  $-*qui$  does not occur. The latter does not occur in Khalkha either. Here we find only  $-χv / -χə < -*qu$ . The latter serves as an attribute and predicate.

Buriat has only  $-χa / -χə (-χo / -χi)$  which serves as an attribute and (with personal endings) predicate. This suffix has developed from  $-*qu / -*kü$ . Traces of the suffix  $-*qui$  are found in Buriat. The final converb (in order to ...) ending in  $-χajā / -χejē$  is an ancient dative form in  $-*a$  of the future noun in  $-*qui / -*küi$ , the suffix  $-χajā$  being a further development of  $-*qui-a$ , e.g.,  $ūχajā < *wuuqui-a$  'in order to drink' (originally 'to the drinking'). The suffix  $-*qui$  is also found in the converb of limitation in  $-χuisā / -χuisē$  in the Khorin dialect of the Buriat language, e.g.,  $abχuisā < *abquičaya$  'the more one takes' or 'as much as one can take'.

Kalmuck has only the suffix  $-*qu > -χv$ .

220. The suffix of the noun of the future occurs as an element of a number of secondary forms.

It has become an indicative form of the future tense in Dagur and Buriat and as such it takes personal endings in the form of personal pronouns (nominative): Dag.  $-*qui (+ \text{person. end.}) > -γužbi, -γužši$ , etc., e.g.,  $ořyuišē$  'thou wilt call',  $āγužši$  'thou wilt be', etc.; Bur.  $-*qu > -χa (+ \text{person. end.})$ , e.g.,  $jabaxap$  'I shall walk',  $jabaxaš$  'thou wilt walk',  $jabaxabdi$  'we shall walk', etc.

221. The nomen futuri with personal possessive endings, which have developed from the genitive forms of personal pronouns, expresses the necessity or the compulsion to act (»I must ...« or »I have to ...«).

Dag.  $-*qu + \text{possess. end.} > -γv̄mīn$ , e.g.,  $jauγv̄mān$  'we shall go' or 'we must go' (< 'our going').

Bur.  $-*qu > -χa + \text{person. possess. end.} -χamīn$ , etc., e.g.,  $jabaxašnī$  'thou must go' or 'thou hast to go'.

Kalm.  $-*qu > -χv + \text{person. possess. end.}$ , e.g.,  $jowχv̄mīj$  'I have to go',  $jowχv̄tšn$  'thou must go',  $jowχv̄mān$  'we have to go', etc.

222. Nomen futuri has also become the basis for a few compound forms.

It has merged with certain forms of the auxiliary verb  $*a-$  'to be'.

One of such forms is the future perfect (*perfectum futuri*), i.e., a past tense in the future. Perfectum futuri has the suffix *-χօσոη* < *\*qu aysan* (nomen perfecti of *\*a-* 'to be') in Khalkha, e.g., *aτօχօσոη* 'one should have taken' (semantically the same as *aωχρ imsəη* < *\*abqu jaχuma aysan* 'a thing to take it was'). In Buriat *-χahaη* < *\*qu aysan* (+ personal endings) corresponds, e.g., *jabaxaham* < *\*jabuqu aysan či* 'thou shouldst have walked', *jabaxahaňš* < *\*jabuqu aysan či* 'thou wast one who had to walk').

223. Some petrified case forms of the nomen futuri have become converbs.

The dative of the future noun serves as a supine. This form is called *converbum finale*. The suffix is *-χā* in Khalkha (< *\*qu-a*), although it is rare there. Buriat has *-χajā* < *\*quj-a*.

The petrified instrumental case of the future noun has become what is called the *converbum finale* or *converbum prolocutivum*. In Dagur the instrumental of the future noun serves as a *converbum successivum*, but sometimes it has also the meaning of the *converbum finale*. The Dagur suffix is *-yōr* < *\*quār* < *\*qu-βar*, e.g., *onoyōřiň* 'as soon as he mounted the horse', *iťskēr* 'as soon as he went', *sōyōr* 'in order to sit down'.

In Urdus *\*quβar* results in *-χār* and forms the final converb but sometimes also the *converbum prolocutivum*. In Kalmuck the ending *-χār* occurs as an ending of the final converb. In Alar Buriat this form occurs with the reflexive possessive suffix, the ending being *-χārā*. There it forms the final converb. In Khalkha and Buriat the *converbum prolocutivum* has the ending *-ηχār* < *-η* < *\*n* (conv. modale) + *χār* < *\*aχār* < *\*aquβar* (from *a-* 'to be').

The comitative form in *-lā* < *\*luya* or the comitative-instrumental form in *-lār* < *\*luyaβar* of the future noun serves as the successive converb meaning »as soon as...« or »simultaneously with...«.

In Monguor *-gulā* < *\*quluya*, in Urdus *-χulā* or *-χulār* < *\*qulu-yαβar*, in Khalkha *-χlār* < *\*quluyaβar*, in Buriat *-χalār*, and in Kalmuck only *-χlā* / *-χlār* are endings of the *converbum successivum*.

A particular form is that ending in *-χadār* in Alar Buriat, which has originated from *\*qu + \*degere* 'on, above', e.g., *jabaxadār*, 'as soon as he went'. The ending *-dār* < *\*degere* occurs in Urdus in such forms as *nast<sup>u</sup>indār* 'at (the home of) the old man' < *\*nasutujin degere*.

#### Nomen Perfecti

224. The nomen perfecti denotes the process of an action as completed in the past. It serves as a subject (actor or process of an action), attribute (characteristic of someone), object or complement (actor or process of an action), and predicate (= past tense).

The Common Mongolian suffix is *-\*γsan / -\*gṣen*. It has resulted in the following suffixes in the Mongolian languages:

Mo. *-γsan / -gṣen*, MMo. (SH, Mu.) *-qsan / -kṣen* ~ (P) *-qsan / -gṣen*, Mong. *-dzan* < *-\*san* < *-\*γsan* (and *-dzaṇa* as a predicative form), Dag. *-saŋ / -seŋ*, Mog. *-qsō-n / -ksō-n*, Urd. *-san / -sen*, Kh. *-səŋ / -səŋ*, Bur. *-han / -həŋ* (in the Barguzin dialect only *-han*, i.e., this suffix does not comply with the vowel harmony rules), Kalm. *-sŋ*.

This verbal noun serves as a predicate and in this function it has become a secondary indicative form in several modern Mongolian languages.

It has become an completed past tense in Buriat: 1st p.s. *-ham*, 2nd p.s. *-hańš*, 3d p.s. *-han*, 1st p.pl. *-hamdi*, 2nd p.pl. *-hant*, 3d p.pl. *-han*.

The equivalent form in Kalmuck is *-smb*, *-sŋtš*, *-sŋ*, etc., e.g., *irsŋb* 'I have come' = Bur. *jerqəqm* 'I came'.

The perfective noun in *-\*γsan* of the auxiliary verb *\*a-* 'to be' has merged with the past tense of the same verb *\*aži* and resulted in *sandži* in Kalmuck: *sandži* < *\*aysan aži* 'has been'. Together with the copula *\*aysan* a perfective noun has become what is called *perfectum perfecti* in Khalkha the ending of the form in question being *-svnsvŋ*, e.g., *ausvnsvŋ* 'one should have taken'.

### Nomen Imperfeci

225. This form is an imperfective verbal noun, e.g., Mo. *jabuya* 'one who has gone and is still going'.

The Common Mongolian suffix is *-\*ya / -\*ge* which has resulted from Common Altaic *\*a* with *-y- / -g-* as a »Hiatustilger», cf. Turk. *-a* in conversbs and, with personal endings, as a mark of the present tense, etc.

A Common Mongolian variant of this suffix is *-\*yaⱩ / -\*geⱩ*. Mo. *-ya / -ge*, e.g., *jabuya* 'going', pre-cl. Mo. *-yaⱩ* (rare), MMo. (SH) *-a ~ -aⱩ*, e.g., *bara'aⱩ üdü'üje* 'while he had not ended'; (P) *-aⱩ*, e.g., *jabu'aⱩ* 'going', (Mu.) *-ā*, Urd., Kh. *-ā*, Kalm. (rare and does not occur with negatives) *-ā*.

Nomen imperfecti acquired the predicative function long ago. In the *Secret History* there are already forms like *bariyda'a bi* 'I was taken prisoner', cf. Muqaddimat al-Adab *üžē čimaji bi* 'I saw thee'. It can be assumed that the nomen imperfecti has become an indicative form in Middle Mongolian. In Buriat it has become a simple past tense, with the endings 1st p.s. *-āp*, 2nd p.s. *-āš*, etc., e.g., *jabāp* or *jabāb* 'I went', *jerēš* 'thou camest', etc.

The suffix *-\*ya / -\*ge* is found in the so-called *perfectum imperfecti* as an element in the compound suffix *-āsən* in Khalkha, e.g., *javāsən* 'went' ('it happened that at that time he had gone and was still going') = Bur. *-āham*, *-āhanš*, *-āhaŋ*, etc.

### Nomen Usus

226. Nomen usus expresses an action which occurs repeatedly or frequently. Its suffix is Common Mongolian *-\*day / -\*deg*. Originally there were numerous nouns derived from verbs, which had this suffix, e.g., Mo. *sirdeg* 'a quilt' (from *siri-* 'to quilt'), Kalm. *χustaq* 'matches' < \**χusday* < \**qusuday* from *\*qusu-* 'to scratch'.

Deverbal nouns ending in *-\*day* occur in all Mongolian languages, e.g., Mong. *furgudog* 'timid' (from *furgudi-*), Dag. *şildək* 'select, exquisite' (from *şili-* 'to select, to choose'), Urd. *şirdek* = Kh. *şirdak*, Kalm. *şirdəg* 'quilt'.

The suffix *\*day* is a common Mongolian-Turkic suffix. It is a noun in *-\*γ / -\*g* derived from the frequentative verbal stem in *\*d-* which still occurs in Tungus.

The suffix *\*day* occurs in Mo. (*-day*), in Urdus (*-dak*), in Kh. (*-dak*), Bur. (*-dag*), and Kalm. (*-dag*).

The noun in *\*day* takes the copula *\*aysan* in Khalkha and Buriat. The resultant form ends in *-dogṣn* in Khalkha and in *-daghan* (with personal endings) in Buriat, e.g., Kh. *sūdogṣn* 'he used to live', Bur. (Alar) *hūdagham* 'I used to live', *hūdaghanš* 'thou usedst to live', etc.

#### Nomen Actoris

227. The so-called nomen actoris expresses the idea of the person acting and serves as a predicate. The suffix in question is *\*γči / -\*gči* which consists of the suffix of deverbal nouns (*\*γ*) and the suffix of professional names (*\*či*), e.g., Mo. *žiruyči* 'painter' from *žiruy* 'picture' (from *žiru-* 'to draw, to paint'). The primary suffix *-či* is found in *temürči* 'blacksmith' from *temür* 'iron', *qoniči* 'shepherd' from *qonin* 'sheep', etc. The primary elements constituting the secondary suffix *\*γči* are of Common Altaic origin, e.g., Turk. *bilig* 'intellect' from *bil-* 'to know', Turk. *qočči* 'shepherd' from *qoč* 'sheep', etc.

The suffix *\*γči* occurs in all Mongolian languages: Mo. *-γči / -gči*, e.g., *jabuyči* 'goer, one who goes' (pre-cl. plural *-γčin*), MMo. (SH, H) *-γči / -gči* and plur. *-γčin / -gčin*, (P) *-qčin / -gčin* (plur.), (Mu.) *-qči / -kči* (sing.). Monguor has only *-džin*. This suffix does not occur in Dagur materials available. Mogol has *-qtši / -ktši*, Urdus *-qtši / -gtši* (and *-gtšin*), Kh. *-qtši / -gtši*, Bur. *-gša / -gšč*.

In Monguor the form in *-džin* is a *nomen usus*, but with the predicative ending *-a* it is a finite form, e.g., *fugudžin* 'usually dying' but *sagidžina* 'he usually watches'. The final *-n* in *-džin* is not quite clear. It may be a fossilized plural ending (*-n*).

The form in *-gša / -gšč* also expresses a frequent action in Buriat. Such a function of the nomen actoris is particularly evident from the cases in which it serves as a predicate, e.g., Al.B *jabagšab* 'I usually go', *jabagšas* 'thou usually goest', etc.

The nomen actoris occurs with the copula *\*aysan* > *-haŋ* (+ personal endings) in Buriat, e.g., *jabagšaham* 'I used to go', *jabagšahanš* 'thou usedst to go', etc.

Another form of the nomen actoris, not used as an attribute, ends in *-yaci* / *-geči* in Written Mongolian, e.g., *žiruyači* 'painter'. In Buriat *\*yači* > *-aša*. It takes personal endings and serves as a present tense, e.g., *jabāšab* 'I usually go', *jabāšaš* 'you usually go' (literally 'thou usually goest'), etc.

### Summary

228. The verbal nouns still serving as such in Mongolian languages spoken at the present time are not numerous. They are shown in the table below.

	Nom. futuri	Nom. perf.	Nom. imperf.	Nom. usus	Nom. act.
CMo.	<i>*qui</i> (s. fem.) <i>*qun</i> (pl.)	<i>-ysan</i>	<i>-ya</i> / <i>-yai</i>	<i>-day</i>	<i>-yči</i>
Pre-cl.Mo.	<i>-qui</i> (s.) <i>-qun</i> (pl.)	<i>-ysan</i>	<i>-ya</i> ~ <i>-yai</i>	<i>-day</i>	<i>-yči</i>
Cl.Mo.	<i>-qui</i> (subst.) <i>-qu</i> (adj.)	<i>-ysan</i>	<i>-ya</i>	<i>-day</i>	<i>-yči</i>
MMo.	<i>-qui</i> (subst.) <i>-qu</i> (adj.) <i>-qun</i> (pl.)	<i>-ysan</i>	<i>-a</i> ~ <i>-ai</i>	—	<i>-yči</i>
Mong.	<i>-guī</i> <i>-gu</i> <i>-guna</i>	<i>-dzan</i>	<i>-a</i> (conv.)	—	<i>-džin</i>
Dag.	<i>-yui</i> (subst.) <i>-yu</i> (adj.)	<i>-saŋ</i>	—	—	—
Mog.	<i>-qui</i> <i>-qu</i>	<i>-qsōn</i>	—	—	<i>-qtši</i>
Urd.	<i>-χu</i> ~ <i>-χa</i>	<i>-san</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-dač</i>	<i>-giši</i>
Kh.	<i>-χv</i>	<i>-svŋ</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-dvč</i>	<i>-giši</i>
Bur.	<i>*qui</i> in <i>-χuisā</i> <i>*qu</i> > <i>-χa</i>	<i>-haŋ</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-dag</i>	<i>-gša</i>
Kalm.	<i>-χv</i>	<i>-sn</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-dog</i>	—

### Converbs

229. The converbs express actions characterizing other actions. They express the manner or circumstances in which the action of the finite verb is performed.

Most of the converbs are petrified oblique cases of verbal nouns, although some converbs are verbal forms by origin or nominative case forms of verbal nouns.

### Converbum Modale

230. The converbum modale indicates the manner in which an action is performed. Its action characterizes or defines the action of the main verbal form. This converb is the verbal noun in  $-*n$  in origin (vide § 208). It occurs with the nominal diminutive suffix  $-*qan$  in Khalkha. The verbal noun in  $-*n$  has become a converb at an early date. Its plural ends in  $-d$  in pre-classical Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian, but it serves only as an indicative form.

Pre-cl. Mo.	$-n$	plur. $-d$ (ind. form)
Cl. Mo.	$-n$	—
MMo.	$-n$	plur. $-d$ (ind. form)
Mong., Urd., Kalm.	$-n$	—
Dag., Kh., Bur.	$-n$	—

The diminutive form in  $-χνη$  occurs only in epic songs in Khalkha, e.g., *ēdzələχχən türsən* 'born to rule over . . . '.

231. The modal converb occurs with the negative *ugež* in Buriat. In Khalkha it does not occur with a negative. Instead, the verbal noun in  $-l$  takes the negative and replaces the converbum modale, e.g., Kh. *meddən* 'knowing, knowingly' — *meddəl-g̣i* 'not knowing, unconsciously'.

- Mo.  $-l$ , e.g., *medel* 'knowledge',
- Mong.  $-r < -*l$ , e.g., *asgur* 'loan' = Mo. *aysul* id.,
- Urd.  $-l + ug^m̄i$  serving as a conv. modale,
- Kh.  $-l + ug^a_i$  id.,
- aKlm.  $-l + ugō$  id.

### Converbum Imperfecti

232. The converbum imperfecti is a verbal form by origin. The latter serves as a past tense (§ 214—215).

The suffix of the converb is *\*žu*.

- Mo. *-žu*; after *b*, *s*, *γ*, *g*, *r*, *d* the suffix is *-ču*
- MMo. *-žu* / *-ču*
- ži* / *-či* (Mu.)
- Mong. *-dži*
- Dag. *-dži* / *-tši*
- Mog. *-dži* / *-tši*
- Urd. *-dži* / *-tši*
- Kh. *-dži* / *-tši*
- Bur. *-ža* etc. / *-ša* etc.
- Kalm. *-dži* / *-tši*.

### Converbum Perfecti

233. The perfective converb has the suffix *\*yad* / *\*ged* and is a verbal noun by origin. It still occurs with the nominal negative *ugō* in Kalmuck, e.g., *irəd-ugō* 'he has not come yet'. In Written Mongolian (especially in pre-classical) the petrified converbum perfecti of the verb *ki-* 'to do', i.e., *kiged* occurred in oblique cases where it served as a summarizing word concluding a group of equal members of a clause. In other words, it occurred with case endings, thus betraying its nominal origin, e.g., *altan möngün čimeg altan siküd kigedi ergüžii* 'presenting golden and silver adornments and golden umbrellas . . .'

The suffix *\*yad* corresponds to Turkic *-yač* of deverbal nouns. The common Mongolian-Turkic suffix was *\*yač*.

- Mo. *-yad* / *-ged*
- MMo. *-'ad* / *-'ed*
- Mong. does not have this form
- Dag. *-är* / *-ęr* (*-ōr* / *-ńr*)
- Mog. does not occur in the materials available
- Urd. *-ăt* / *-ēt* (*-ōt*, *-ńt*)

Kh., Bur. *-āt / -ēt* (*-ōt, -ōt*)

Kalm. *-ād / -ēd*.

Examples: Mo. *abuyad* 'having taken', MMo. *abu'ad*, Dag. *aγōr*, Urd., Kh. *awāt*, Bur. *abāt*, Kalm. *awād* id.

#### C o n v e r b u m T e r m i n a l e

234. The terminal converb denotes an action which immediately follows the action of the finite verb. The latter takes place until the action of the converb starts, but sometimes it may take place while the action of the converb takes place. This converb is a dative form in *\*a* of the deverbal noun in *\*tal / \*dal*. The suffix of the converb is *\*tala*.

Mo. *-tala / -tele*

MMo. (SH, H, Mu.) *-tala / -tele*

Mong. *-dəlā ~ -dərā*

Dag. *-tal / -tel*

Mog. *-tala*

Urd. *-tal* etc. *~ -tar* etc.

Kh. *-tal* etc. *~ -tar* etc.

Kh.B, AgaB *-tar* etc.

Kalm. *-tl*.

In Mongolian, Urdus, and Khalkha, besides the suffix *\*tala*, the parallel suffix *\*tara* occurs. In East Buriat the latter is the only suffix. The form in *\*tala* or *\*tara* does not occur in West Buriat (cf. § 235).

In Khalkha the instrumental and ablative of the form in *\*tal* occur, the suffixes in question being *-tələr* and *-tələs* respectively.

235. In West Buriat dialects the forms in *\*tala* and *\*tara* do not occur. Instead, in Alar Buriat a form in *-sa < \*ča* is used, e.g., Mo. *jabuča* 'the manner of walking', *abuča* 'the act of taking', etc. The West Buriat forms in *-sa* mean »so that . . .«, e.g., *bāsa* »so that the other stood still«. There is another form ending in *-sar < \*sār < \*čaβar*, an instrumental form of the same ancient noun in *\*ča*, which serves to express the idea of an action during which the main action takes place, e.g., *jabasar* 'while he goes'.

### Converbum Finale

236. The final converb serves as a supine and means »in order to...« It is a dative in  $-\ast a$  of the verbal noun in  $-\ast r$ , cf. Mo. *amur* 'rest, peace' from *amu-* 'to rest'. The suffix of the converb is *-ra*. This form occurs only in Written Mongolian, Middle Mongolian, and in Monguor: Mo., MMo. (SH, H), and Mong. *-ra*.

In the remaining Mongolian languages the dative form in  $-\ast a$  of the *nomen futuri* is used instead.

### Converbum Praeparativum

237. This form is an instrumental case of the verbal noun in  $-\ast r$  by origin. The suffix of the converb is *-run*. The ending *-un* is the same as the Written Mongolian genitive suffix, but here it appears with its other meaning, namely that of the instrumental. In Ancient Turkic and in some other Altaic languages an instrumental form in  $-\ast(i)n$  occurred. The suffix is the same as the Mongolian genitive suffix. This form has lost its instrumental function in Mongolian, but it has been preserved in this converb.

The preparative converb does not occur in spoken languages. It is also rare in Written Mongolian but it occurred frequently in pre-classical Written Mongolian. Its meaning is »because of...«, »in consequence of...«, »as...«, »when...«.

Mo. *teden-e mörgüžü bürün* 'when he bowed before them', MMo. (P) *ulus-da'an ihe'en bolqarun* 'because he protects his people', etc.

### Converbum Successivum

238. The successive converb denotes an action which is followed immediately by another action (»as soon as...«). By origin it is a petrified comitative in  $-\ast luya$  or a comitative-instrumental in  $-\ast luya\betaar$  of the future noun. This form does not occur in Written Mongolian and in Middle Mongolian.

Mong. *-gulā* <  $-\ast quluya$

Dag. *-γār* <  $-\ast qu\betaar$

- Urd. -χulā < -\*quluya  
 -χulār < -\*quluyaβar  
 Kh., Bur. -χolār < -\*quluyabar  
 Kalm. -χolā < -\*quluyači (serves as a conditional).

#### Converbium Contemporale

239. The converbum contemporale serves to express an action simultaneous with that of the main verb. This form is a petrified Altaic *casus aequatitius* in -\*ča of the deverbal noun in -\*may (= Turk. -maq in varmaq 'to go', vermek 'to give', etc.).

In Written Mongolian the suffix is -mayča. The suffix -may is found in Mo. qayurmay 'fraud, deceit' from qayur- 'to deceive', egedemeg 'sort of sour dough' from egede- 'to become sour', etc.

The contemporaneous converb occurs in Urdus (-magča ~ -magči), Khalkha (-msv or its instrumental -msār), Khor. Buriat (-muysa), and in Alar Buriat (-msa, instr. -msār).

#### Converbium Abtemporale

240. This converb is by origin an instrumental case of the nomen perfecti ending in -\*ysan. In classical Written Mongolian the old instrumental form in -\*yar / -\*ger (cf. yayčayar 'alone, single') has disappeared and occurs only in adverbs and in this converb. In pre-classical Written Mongolian the suffix -ysabar < -\*ysaβar occurs.

Dagur has -sār (-sēr, -sōr), Mogol -qsō / -ksō (a dative in -\*a of the nomen perfecti). Urdus and Khalkha have the suffix -sār (-sēr, -sōr, etc.), Buriat has -hār (-hēr, -hōr, -hōr), and Kalmuck -sār / -ser.

#### Converbium Essivum

241. This converb occurs in Buriat. Its suffix is -myā < -\*myači or -myāšv < -\*myačiči. The final syllable -šv < -\*čiči is the suffix of professional names, e.g., Mo. moduči 'carpenter' from modun 'wood'. The suffix -myači occurs as an ending of the so-called *nomen cupiditatis*

in all Mongolian languages, which serves to express the idea of the ability to perform the action in question, e.g., Mo. *surumyaž* 'able to learn' from *sur-* 'to learn'. In Urdus the suffix is *-magā*, Kh. *-magvē* ~ *-myvē*, Al.B *-myā*, Kalm. *-myā*.

The noun in *\*myaž* serves as a converb only in Buriat, e.g., *jabam-gaša* 'in the capacity of a goer' or 'as one who goes'.

#### Converbum Momentanei

242. The converbum momentanei is formed with the suffix *-s* or *-\*gas* and occurs only with the verb *ki-* < *\*qi-* 'to do' and *ge-* < *\*geme-* 'to say'.

In Written Mongolian many verbs of the type of *nemeski-* 'to add a little' occur. They are formed with the suffix *-s + ki-* 'to do'. Nouns in *-s* still occur in Mongolian languages, e.g., Mo. *žokis* < *\*žoqis* 'convenience, befitting, appropriate, decent' from *žoki-* < *\*žoqī-* 'to suit, to be appropriate'; Mo. *ajus* 'fear' from *aju-* 'to be afraid', etc.

Instead of *-s* also *-l* or *-r* occur. The latter are also suffixes of verbal nouns.

Urdus has *-s + ge-* or *-gas + ge-*, e.g., *tšās gēd* 'having glittered' (quickly and only once), *godžogos gēd* 'rising vertically' (from *tšā-* and *godžā-* respectively). In Khalkha *-s + xi-* and in Al.B *-gad ge-* occur, e.g., Al.B *męšęgęd gęże* 'smiling'. The suffix *-gad* has resulted from *-\*gas*.

#### The Conditional Forms

243. The conditional forms are compound forms in most Mongolian languages. They are nominal forms by origin to which particles or petrified conditional forms of an auxiliary verb have been added. The conditional forms are classified into primary and secondary forms.

##### (A) The primary conditional forms

The primary conditional form ends in *-\*yasu / -\*gesü*. This form occurs in classical Written Mongolian in only one verb, namely *bü-*

'to be', the form in question being *bügesü* 'if is, when is'. In pre-classical Written Mongolian forms in *-yasu* were more common, although they did not occur frequently.

Mo. *-yasu / -gesü*

MMo. (SH, H, P) *-'asu / -'esü*

Dag. *-āsā / -ēsē < -\*yasuyač / -\*gesügeč*

Mong. *-dza < -\*yasuyač*

Bur. *-hā / -hē < -\*sā < -\*yasuyač*

*-āhā / -ēhā (-ōhā, -ñhā) : -ā* (nomen imperfecti) +  
*hā < \*ayasuyač* (petrified conditional form of the  
verb *\*a-* 'to be').

It should be remarked that only Mo. and MMo. have preserved the primary suffix *-\*yasu*. In the remaining languages only *-\*yasu* with the secondary element *-yač* occurs. Cf. § 198—199.

#### (B) *The secondary conditional forms*

244. The usual conditional form in Written Mongolian is that ending in *-basu*.

This form is a past tense in *-ba* (§ 216) to which the element *su* is added. The latter has developed from *\*ayasu*, the primary conditional form of the auxiliary verb *\*a-* 'to be'. The suffix *-yasu* occurs in Written Mongolian only in *bügesü* 'if he is'.

Thus, such forms as Mo. *jabubasu* 'if he goes' have developed from *\*jabuba ayasu* 'if it be that he went'.

Mo. *-basu / -besü*

MMo. (P, H) *-basu / -besü* (rare)

Urd. *-wāsu / -wēsu < Mo.*

Kalm. *-wās / -wēs* (rare).

245. In Mongolian languages spoken at the present time the conditional form is derived from the past tense in *-\*ba* to which the particle *le ~ ele* is added, i.e., the conditional suffix ends in *-bala* < *-\*ba + ele*.

This form does not occur in Mo. and MMo.

Urd. *-walā / -welē ~ -wal / -wel*

Kh. *-wol / -wəl*

Al.B *-bal / -bəl* (with personal endings)

Kalm. *-wəl*.

246. A number of other forms serve as a conditional in various Mongolian languages.

Urdus has the form ending in *-ūn / -ūūn*, e.g., *bolūū* 'if it is possible'. The suffix *-ūū* or *-ūn* has resulted from *\*γun*. We find it in the Buriat converbal form in *-ūtai*, e.g., *bařūtač* 'going to seize' from *baři-* 'to seize' which is a comitative form of a verbal noun in *-ūη < \*γun*.

Buriat uses syntactic means to express the conditional. The most common syntactic construction is the past imperfective noun (*nomen imperfecti*), which serves as a past tense in Buriat, to which the particle *χadā* is added, e.g., *untā χadā* 'if he sleeps'. The particle *χadā* was originally a dative-locative form with the reflexive-possessive ending (*-dā*) of the *nomen futuri* (in *\*qu*) of the auxiliary verb *\*a-* 'to be', i.e., *χadā < \*aqdayan*.

In Khalkha the *nomen futuri* (when the conditional refers to the future) or *nomen perfecti* (when the action refers to the past) with *wol* or *bol*, the abbreviated conditional form of the verb *bol-* 'to become' is used, i.e., *bol < \*bolbala*, e.g., *irəχə wol* 'if he comes', *irsəŋ bol* 'if he has come'.

#### The Concessive Forms

247. The concessive is formed with concessive particles added to various forms.

(a) *-\*basu ber*

Written Mongolian uses the conditional converb with the particle *ber*.

Monguor has the concessive converb ending in *-dza da*. Here the particle *\*da* is added to the conditional form in *-dza < -\*sā < \*γasuyai*.

In Buriat the conditional form in *-hā* < *\*γasuyač* with the particle *-šχę* serves as a concessive converb, e.g., *andaldahāšnišχę* < *\*andalduyasuyač činu čigi* 'even if thou hast exchanged'.

(b) *-ba + ču (či ~ čigi)*

In Written Mongolian the concessive converb is formed with the suffix *-baču* consisting of the suffix of the past tense *-ba* and the particle *ču*.

Mo. *-baču / -bečū*

Mong. *-wadžiä* < *\*baču*

Urd. *-wā* (= praet. perf.)

*-wališi* < *\*baču*

Kh. *-wališi* ~ *-vaiši* < *\*ba + či*

Kalm. *-vcišigŋ* < *\*ba + čigi + \*ni*.

In Dagur the *concessivus* (a vocative form) in *-tχaič* < *\*tuyač* with the particle *\*ču* serves as a concessive, the form in question ending in *-tχaičs*, e.g., *sanatχaičs* 'although he thinks', *nərdečχaičs* 'although it opens'.

248. In general, various verbal nouns with particles (*\*ču*, *\*čigi*) are the most usual substitutes for the concessive converb.

Dag. *-jēš*, nomen imperfecti in *\*γa + ču*.

Kh. *-χvntš* ~ *-χvntš*, nomen futuri, e.g., *jāχvntš* 'no matter how one acts', *irχvntš* 'although he will come'.

Kh. *-svntš*, nomen perfecti, e.g., *irsənš* 'although he has come'.

Al.B *-ašχę* < *\*γa* (nom. imperf.) + *šχę* < *\*čigi* + *bolhō* (conditional of *bol-* 'to become'), e.g., *ǖlašχę bolhōmni* 'although I shall cry'.

AgaB. *-ašijahā* < *\*γa* (nom. imperf.) + *ši* < *\*ču* + *\*ahā* (conditional of *\*a-* 'to be'), e.g., *jerěšijahā* 'although he has come'.

Al.B *-haňšχę* < *\*γsan* (nom. perf.) + *šχę* < *\*čigi* + *bolhō* (condit. of *bol-* 'to become'), e.g., *jabahaňšχę bolhō* 'although he went'.

## Summary

249. The following forms serve as converbs in the Mongolian languages.

Converbum modale: verbal noun in  $-\ast n$  (plur.  $-\ast d$ ) > Mo.  $-n$ , MMo.  $n$  (plur.  $-d$  serves as a predicative form), Mong.  $-n$ , Dag.  $-η$ , Urd.  $-n$ , Kh. and Bur.  $-η$ , Kalm.  $-n$ ; Kh. has a diminutive form in  $-ηχνη$ .

Converbum imperfecti: the indicative past form (past tense)  $-\ast žu$  > Mo.  $-žu / -ču$ , MMo.  $-žu / -ču$ , Mong.  $-dži$ , Dag.  $-dži / -tši$ , Mog. and Urd.  $-dži / -tši$ , Kh.  $-dži / -tši$ , Bur.  $-ža / -ša$ , Kalm.  $-dž / -tš$ .

Converbum perfecti: the verbal noun in  $-\ast yač$  >  $-\ast yad$  > Mo.  $-yad / -ged$ , MMo.  $-ad$ , Mong. does not have it (instead, a form in  $-a$  is used), Dag.  $-ār$ , Urd., Kh., Bur.  $-āt / -ēt$  (etc.), Kalm.  $-ād$ .

Converbum terminale: an ancient dative form in  $-\ast a$  from the verbal noun in  $-tal / -dal$  > Mo.  $-tala$ , MMo.  $-tala$ , Mong.  $-delā \sim -derā$ , Dag.  $-tal$ , Mog.  $-tala$ , Urd.  $-tal \sim -tar$ , Kh.  $-tv̄l \sim -tv̄r$  (instr.  $-tv̄lār$ , abl.  $-tv̄lās$ ), Kh.B  $-tar$  (Al.B  $-sa < -\ast ča$  and  $-sar < -\ast sār < -\ast čaβar$  correspond only in meaning), Kalm.  $-tl̄$ .

Converbum finale: an ancient dative in  $-\ast a$  of the verbal noun in  $-\ast r$  > Mo., MMo., Mong.  $-ra$ .

Converbum praeparativum: an ancient instrumental (= genitive) in  $-\ast un$  from the verbal noun in  $-\ast r$  > Mo. and MMo.  $-run$ .

Converbum successivum: a comitative in  $-\ast luya$  or a comitative-instrumental form in  $-\ast luyaβar$  derived from the nomen futuri in  $-\ast qu$ ; Mo. and MMo. do not have this form, Mong.  $-gulā$ , Dag. does not have it (instead, a form in  $-γār$ , i.e., an instr. of the nomen futuri is used), Urd.  $-χulā \sim -χulār$ , Kh. and Bur.  $-χvlār$ , Kalm.  $-χplā$ .

Converbum contemporale: an ancient form of the *casus aequativus* in  $-\ast ča$  of the verbal noun in  $-\ast may$  > Mo.  $-mayča$ , Urd.  $-magtša \sim -magtši$ , Kh.  $-msv$  ( $\sim -msār$ , an instr.), Kh.B  $-mugsa$ , Al.B  $-msa$  ( $\sim$  instr.  $-msār$ ), Kalm. does not have it.

Converbum abtemporale: an instrumental of the nomen perfecti  $-\ast γsaβar$  > pre-cl. Mo.  $-ysabar$ , cl. Mo.  $-ysayar$ , MMo.  $-ysa'ar$ , Mog.  $-qsō$  (a dative), Urd., Kh.  $-sār$ , Bur.  $-hār$ , Kalm.  $-sār$ .

Converbum nōmentanei: noun in  $-\ast s$  + verb  $ki$ - 'to do' > Mo.

-ski- (MMo. only the noun in -s is found, Mong. -s, Dag. -s, Mog. -s), Urd. -s ge- ~ -gas ge-, Kh. -s *χi-*, Bur. -gad *ge-*, Kalm. does not have it.

Conditional forms: 1. -\**yasu* ~ -\**yasuyač* > Mo. -*yasu* (rare), MMo. -*asu*, Mong. -*dza*, Dag. -*āsā*, Bur. -*hā*; 2. -\**basu* > Mo., MMo. -*basu*, Urd. -*wāsu* (rare), Kh. -*wās* (rare), Kalm. -*wās* (rare); 3. -*ba* (praeteritum perfecti) with \**ele* > Urd. -*walā*; Kh. -*wpl*, Bur. -*bal* (rare), Kalm. -*wl*.

Concessive forms: 1. -\**ba* (praeteritum perf.) + particle \**ču* > Mo. -*baču*, Mong. -*wadžia*, Urd. simple praet. perf in -*wā*, Kh. -*wniši*; 2. conditional form + particle > Mo. -*basu ber*, MMo. -*basu ber*, Mong. -*dza* < -*sā* (conditional) + *da* (particle), Bur. -*hāšxę*; 3. imperative of the third person in -\**tuyač* + particle \**ču* > Dag. -*tχajtš*; 4. nomen futuri + particle > Kh. -*χvtš* ~ -*χvntš*; 5. nomen imperfecti + particle > Dag. -*jēš*, Bur. -*āšxę bolhā*, -*āšijahā*, -*ā* *χadā*; 6. nomen perfecti + particle > Kh. -*svnčš*, Bur. -*hanšxę bolhā*.

### Negative Conjugation

250. The Mongolian languages differ from each other greatly in the verbal forms with negatives.

Written Mongolian possesses the following negatives occurring with verbal forms:

(A) The vocative forms occur with the prohibitive particle \**bu* which has two vowels in spelling, i.e., *buu*. It has resulted from the imperative of the verb \**bü-* 'to be'.

Examples: *buu uysi* 'do not read!', *buu orotuyač* 'he should not enter!', *buu oroja* 'let us not enter!', etc.

Middle Mongolian has the same prohibitive particle: SH *bu* with imperative forms and the voluntative, H, P, and Mu. *bu* with imperative forms.

The prohibitive particle *bu* has become *bī* in Mongolian. It occurs only with the imperative forms, e.g., *bī awu* 'do not take!', *bī aicudā* 'please do not take!'.

Dagur has *bū* which occurs with the imperative forms and all vocative forms.

Mogol has *bi*, e.g., *bi ola* 'do not kill!'

In Urdus *bū* occurs as a loan from Written Mongolian. In Khalkha *bū* corresponds to it. There it occurs only with the voluntative forms, e.g., *bū jawvjā* 'let us not go!'. With other vocative forms *bū* occurs rarely in Khalkha.

On the other hand, in Buriat *buu* is the only negative with all vocative forms including the imperative, e.g., *buu jabajibdi* 'let us not go!', *buu jabagtī* 'do not go!' (an order to many persons).

In Written Oirat \**bu* / \**bū* > *bö*, but in spoken Kalmuck this prohibitive particle does not occur.

251. (B) Another prohibitive particle is \**bütügej*, by origin a concessive in -\**tügej* from the verb \**bii-* 'to be'.

In Mo. and MMo. this prohibitive particle does not occur. In Urdus \**bütügej* has developed into *bitṣige*, in Khalkha *bitəgi*. It occurs with all vocative forms except the forms of the 1st person. Buriat does not have this particle, but in Kalmuck it occurs as *bitške*.

252.\* The indicative forms in Written Mongolian occur with the negatives *ese* and *ülü*.

The negative *ese* is the stem of the verb \**ese-* 'not to be' = Tungus *esi-*. This verb is not complete in Mongolian and the only forms still existing are the following:

Nomen futuri *eskü*

Nomen perfecti *esegsen*

Conv. conditionale *esebesü*

Conv. successivum *eseküle*

Conv. concessivum *esebecü*

Praeteritum perf. *esabe*.

Other forms of this verb do not occur.

The negative *ülü* has developed from \**üli*.

Middle Mongolian has both *ese* and *ülü* with indicative forms. In the *Secret History* *ese* occurs with the past tense, e.g., *ese qožidaba* 'did not remain behind'. In *Muqaddimat al-Adab* the past tense takes also *ese*, e.g., *ese kelebe* 'did not say'.

In Monguor \**ese* has resulted in *se* and occurs with the past tense in -\**ba* and the perfect, e.g., *se aicudzana* 'has not taken'.

In Dagur *es* occurs with the indicative forms, e.g., *es šadan-tā* 'you cannot'. It is a rare negative, however.

In Mogol \**ese* > *sa* ~ *se* ~ *sö*. In the materials available it occurs with the past indicative form.

Urdus has *ese* with the praesens perfecti, e.g., *bi ese kelelū* 'did I not say?'.

Khalkha does not have \**ese* with indicative forms. In Buriat it does not occur at all. In Kalmuck it is used with all verbal forms except the vocative forms.

253. The negative \**üli* > Mo. *üli* occurs in Written Mongolian with indicative forms. In Middle Mongolian it joins various verbal forms, e.g., SH *üli bolyan* 'not doing' (conv. modale), H *üli medegde-müj* 'it is not known' (praes. imperf.), P *üli üžen* 'not seeing' (conv. modale). In *Muqaddimat al-Adab* *üli* ~ *üle* occurs with the praesens imperfecti, praeteritum perfecti, nomen actoris, nomen futuri, converbum modale, and in one example also with the concessive.

In one of the Monguor dialects \**üli* has resulted in *li*, but in another dialect there is *i* < \**li* < \**üli* (or *i* may be of another origin). These negatives occur rarely, cf. *buda li šdžim* 'we do not go'. The negative *li* has merged with many verbs, e.g., *lössi-* 'not to drink', *löli-* < \**li öli-* 'not to become', *lōro-* 'not to enter', etc. resembling Latin *nolo* < \**ne volo*.

In Dagur \**üli* has resulted in *ul* and occurs with the present form, the future, and the past.

In Mogol \**üli* > *lu* ~ *le*, but RAMSTEDT does not tell us what forms occur with this negative.

Urdus has *ule* ~ *uluu* which occurs in interrogation with forms of the present tense, e.g., *ondoronū ule ondoronū* 'will he survive or will he not?', and also alone, i.e., with no verb, e.g. *bi ule gekʷe* 'I do not say »No!»'.

In Khalkha \**üli* is not used in common speech, but it occurs in folk tales together with *es* (i.e., as double negative), e.g., *es ul irwə* 'he did not come'.

In Buriat the indicative forms and converbs occur with the negative *ule* ~ *uli* in epic tales.

In Buriat the indicative forms occur, however, with the negative \*ügej more frequently. The latter negative takes the personal endings, e.g., Alar *jabana-bēš* 'thou goest not'.

In Kalmuck \*ülü seems to be unknown.

254. The nominal forms of the verb take the negatives *ese*, *ülü*, and *ügej* in Written Mongolian.

In Middle Mongolian, in *Mugaddimat al-Adab* the nominal forms take the negative üle or ese, e.g., *ule oldaqu* 'someone who cannot be found', *ülü sonasugči* 'not listening', *ese kürükseñ* 'who has not reached', etc.

Nominal forms of the verb take the negative *uguā* ~ *ugui* < \*ügej in Monguor. In Dagur all nominal forms of the verb occur with the negative *ul*, e.g., *ul tsegwuję* 'his own impatience', *ul mēdəgū* 'not knowing'.

Urdus, Khalkha, and Buriat have the negative \*ügej with nominal forms.

255. Some converbs take the negative *ese* in Written Mongolian (conv. conditionale, successivum, and concessivum), but other converbs (i.e., the remaining ones) take the negative *ülü*.

In Middle Mongolian *ese* is used with the conditional converb (P, H, and Mu.), perfective converb (H), and imperfective converb (Mu.). The negative *ülü* occurs with the modal converb in MMo. (P, H, and Mu.).

In Monguor the negative *se* < \*ese is taken by the concessive and perfective converb.

In Dagur the converbs occur with the negative *ul*.

Urdus has *ule* or *ese* ~ *es* with the conditional converb. Khalkha has the negative *es* ~ *essə* only with the conditional converb. All converbs are, however, replaced by special syntactic constructions in Khalkha: instead of a converb with a negative a verbal noun with the negative *ugāi* and a converb of an auxiliary verb is used in Khalkha.

In Kalmuck the negative *es* occurs with the conditional, imperfective, and modal converb. The perfective converb takes only the negative *ugā*.

256. The negatives are shown in the following tables:

(A) The vocative forms:

	First person	The remaining persons
Mo.	<i>buu</i>	<i>buu</i>
MMo.	<i>bu</i>	<i>bu</i>
Mong.	?	<i>bī</i>
Dag.	<i>bū</i>	<i>bū</i>
Mog.	?	<i>bi</i>
Urd.	?	<i>bū</i> < Mo., <i>bitšige</i>
Kh.	<i>bū</i>	<i>bitžī</i>
Bur.	<i>buu</i>	<i>buu</i>
Kalm.	<i>bitške</i>	<i>bitške</i>

(B) Indicative forms:

	Present and Future		Preterite	
	*ülü	*ese	*ülü	*ese
Mo.	<i>ülü</i>	<i>ese</i>	<i>ülü</i>	<i>ese</i>
MMo.				
SH				<i>ese</i>
H	<i>ülü</i>	<i>ese</i>	<i>ülü ~ üle</i>	<i>ese</i>
Mu.	<i>ülü ~ üle</i>		<i>ülü ~ üle</i>	<i>ese</i>
Mong.	<i>i</i> < ? <i>li</i> < *ülü			<i>se</i>
Dag.	<i>ul</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>ul</i>	
Mog.	<i>luu ~ le</i>			<i>sa ~ se ~ sö</i>
Urd.	nom. futuri + <i>wg<sup>w</sup>i</i>			<i>ese</i>
Kh	nom. futuri + <i>wg<sup>a</sup>i</i>		nom. imperf. or perf. with <i>wg<sup>a</sup>i</i>	
Bur.	<i>wgei</i> <i>wli</i> rarely		<i>wgei</i> <i>wli</i> rarely	
Kalm.	<i>es</i>		<i>es</i>	

## (C) Verbal nouns:

	Nomen futuri	Nomen actoris	Nomen usus	Nomen imperfecti	Nomen perfecti
Mo.	ülü ügei	ülü	ügei	ügei	ügei ese
MMo. P, H, Mu.	ülü	ülü			ese
Mong.		i uguā			i se
Dag.	wl				wwei
Urd.	wg <sup>w</sup> i	wg <sup>w</sup> i	wg <sup>w</sup> i	wg <sup>w</sup> i	wg <sup>w</sup> i
Kh.	wg <sup>a</sup> i	wg <sup>a</sup> i	wg <sup>a</sup> i	wg <sup>a</sup> i	wg <sup>a</sup> i
Bur.	wgei	wgei	wgei	wgei	wgei
Kalm.	ugā	ugā	ugā	ugā	ugā

## (D) Converbs:

	Conditional	Concessive	Imperfecti	Perfecti	Modale
Mo.	ese	ese	ülü	ülü	ülü
MMo. SH, P, H Mu.	ese				ülü
Mong.	i	se	ugui	se	
Dag.	wl	wl	wl	wl	wl
Urd.	ese	ese			
Kh.	es	1	1	1	1
Bur.	1	1	1	1	wgei
Kalm.	es	es	es	ugā	es

Note:<sup>1</sup> Instead of a converb with a negative a verbal noun with \*ügei and the converb in question of the auxiliary verb is used.

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